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SPEECHES

BY

THE EARL OF READING

VOL. II.

From 15th June 1923 to 1st April 1926.



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SPEECHES
BY LORD READING.
VOLUME II.

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SPEECHES BY THE EARL OF READING.

1923—1926.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE LADY READING HOSPITAL AT "BAIRDVILLE", SIMLA.

At the ceremony of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Lady Reading Hospital at "Bairdville", Simla, by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

15th June
1923.

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen.— On behalf of Her Excellency I wish to express to you the pleasure she has experienced in taking part in this ceremony to-day. I need not recapitulate to you the various proposals which have been under discussion during apparently the last 15 years before this project could actually be brought to fruition. Sir Muhammad Shafi has told you their history. The object of the work of Her Excellency and her Committee in connection with this hospital is to provide suitable hospital accommodation for the poorest Indian women of Simla and the surrounding districts and for those more affluent women who come to Simla and who wish to secure hospital accommodation suitable to their needs. Of course a first essential is that the hospital should be in a healthy climate—the very object of founding a hospital at Simla is that it should be in as healthy a climate as can be found in India. There was a great need for a hospital in such a climate as all medical practitioners in India, who have attended Indian women have long recognised. The institution of which the foundation stone has now been laid will meet that need and also provide accommodation for sick children in order that they

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Lady Reading Hospital at "Bairdville", Simla.

may have the special care and treatment they require. Moreover, the hospital will also provide an admirable training school for Indian nurses—a very desirable aim which her Excellency is most anxious to see brought to real success in India.

There were many difficulties to overcome ; and of course the first is always the matter of finding funds. We could scarcely expect the Simla Municipality to provide the money for the building and the equipment and maintenance of a hospital of this character which has only primarily been designed for the benefit of Indian women at Simla ; but has also as a chief object the treatment of Indian women from all parts of India. The money has fortunately been provided by liberal assistance out of the Women of India Fund founded by Her Excellency. This Fund has been subscribed by the Princes and people of India ;—not only for this purpose, be it observed, but also to help generally in other places and other directions also the women and children of India. I note in passing that this Fund has quite recently provided a handsome donation towards the Lady Hardinge College in order to help it, and has also founded at Delhi the Indian Nursing Association with the Lady Reading Nurses, who have already been able to do such good work during the terrible plague epidemic recently prevailing at Delhi ; I will not trouble you with statistics. But I must say that on seeing the percentage of deaths among those assisted by the care of those nurses as compared with the number of deaths of those deprived of such services I was immensely struck by the good work that those nurses must have done.

The cost of the site of the building and of the equipment has been met from Her Excellency's Women of India Fund and, in addition, Her Excellency—who is always businesslike—deter-

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Lady Reading Hospital at "Baird-ville", Simla.

mined that there should be a permanent income sufficient to start it in its present requirements ; she has accordingly endowed the hospital with a sum of 5 lakhs so that from the interest on that money there may be substantial annual funds to help to carry on the work. Her efforts have been supplemented by the Simla Municipality who have shown a very commendable interest in this project by undertaking to provide Rs. 12,000 annually towards its upkeep. From this provision you will observe that the Institution starts well ; example is always better than precept and I trust there will be other public bodies and other private persons who may be minded to emulate those who have already contributed, and that as time proceeds there will be more money available and Her Excellency and those who come after her will be able to extend the beneficent activity inaugurated here.

Another of the difficulties was the selection of the site. Her Excellency and those associated with her have visited several sites and in the end they selected this. It is obvious that a hospital of this character must not be too far from the town and the railway station ; it must not be too far from the main road, it must be situated in airy, spacious and healthy surroundings ; it must be capable of expansion ; and above all, there must be the capacity to provide that privacy which is so necessary to Indian women. Now, this site fulfils all those requirements and I think we may congratulate Her Excellency on the success of the locality on which her choice has fallen. There is the existing house we have just seen which will make an excellent nurses' hostel with some rooms for administration and also wards. There is ample ground on the estate which can be efficiently adapted for a block for surgical and maternity cases.

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Lady Reading Hospital at "Eairdville", Simla.

with up-to-date surgical theatres, for family wards and necessary out-buildings. The total accommodation for the present is designed to provide between 50 and 60 beds which will be expanded as and when funds permit and when experience warrants it. I have been taken into confidence in regard to the equipment and staffing and am assured—and may assure you—that everything will be of the high water-mark of excellence and efficiency. From a long experience I may be permitted to observe that if there are any defects that escape Her Excellency's observation, then these are not visible to the naked human eye.

And now that I have told you of all that is to happen, I may remind you that this is one of the first fruits of Her Excellency's Women of India Fund ; I feel that this building should make a special appeal to us all, for it is a step onward in the great field of labour awaiting the efforts of those with the interests of the women of India at heart. I am glad to be able to announce that just before starting for this ceremony a telegram was received from Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal stating "Her Highness wishes to subscribe forty thousand rupees for one two-bedded ward. Kindly announce." It is an auspicious occasion for us, on starting out, to receive this telegram and it once again evinces the deep interest that Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal takes in the women and children of India. I should also just like to mention that an American lady and gentleman, who were here and who heard of Her Excellency's project, were so enamoured of it that at considerable cost they insisted upon sending to the hospital a complete set of surgical instruments of a most excellent and up-to-date description ; and I need not assure you that we are very grateful to them for it.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society, 1923.

I congratulate Her Excellency, the members of her Committee and all those associated with her in this work as well as those whose donations have made the work possible, on the inauguration at to-day's ceremony of this hospital and of the great prospect of beneficent work, for which it stands.

Her Excellency the Countess of Reading when performing the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the Lady Reading Hospital at "Bairdville" Simla, said :—

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Sir Mahammad Shah, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I hope this hospital, which I am proud to think will bear my name and of which I am now going to lay the foundation stone, may prove a blessing to Simla and its surroundings, and I fervently pray and hope that it will be the means of alleviating some of the suffering of Indian women and children.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE COMBINED
MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION
AND INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY, ON 19TH JUNE 1923.

19th June
1923.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on 19th June 1923 :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It is a great pleasure to me to be here to-day and again to meet those who are interested in the activities of these two beneficent Associations. We are all agreed as to the value of the efforts made by these Societies, and if there is any controversy or rivalry it is merely owing to the degree of enthusiasm which each may contribute to the work of these Associations. Regarding

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society, 1933.

the objects which they hold sacred and for which they strive, there can be no breath of controversy. To help suffering humanity is a noble cause in which men and women of all races, of all castes and creeds, of diverts opinions, and of different ranks in life must be proud to labour. For none can be so highly placed as to be indifferent to the suffering around them ; and however poor and lowly may be our station, we all have a duty to help our neighbours in suffering. In the work before these Societies all classes can combine. It is never too early to begin ; and the span of human life in itself is all too brief to achieve real progress in the alleviation of the great tale of human suffering in the world and in the amelioration of the lot of our fellow beings. Drops however make an ocean, and every effort made by each member of these Societies contributes in some degree to make up a great sum total of increasing health and well-being among the people as a whole. Though we may not realize it, we have duty beyond the immediate present. We are trustees, of the future of the world. If we remain supine and indifferent to the sickness and suffering around us, if we make no attempt to dispel popular ignorance in matters of health, if we neglect to enlighten the growing generation in the first principles of hygiene, we must be arraigned as criminally negligent repositories of our trust ; we must plead guilty to the grave charges of being a generation without ideals, and it would be hard to find any greater condemnation, a generation which has no hope of a better and brighter world, a generation which was content to let conditions in the world degenerate. For centuries men have been aiming to progress, to spread civilization, to increase well-being in the world ; causes arise which alienate country from country and which engender the disruption of nations ; but in this purely human ideal, I believe—and the work of these Societies in the world proves beyond doubt—that there is no division of opinion among countries or nations.

His Excellency the Viccroy's speech at the Combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society, 1933.

I have put this aspect of the case before you because I think it will help us towards a correct appreciation of the very interesting reports which have been presented to us to-day. His Excellency Lord Rawlinson has told us of the work of the Indian Branch of the St. John's Ambulance Association. There has been a steady increase in the number of new centres and in the membership. The courses of lectures on First Aid, Home Nursing and Home Hygiene have increased in number and scope ; and there has been a marked expansion in the totals of persons attending. The spread of teaching of the rudiments of what this Association holds to be of special value, to school children is particularly satisfactory. The steady accretion to the ranks of those qualifying for certificates adds materially to the total number in India of those possessed of this very useful form of knowledge. The record of practical assistance given by Ambulance Divisions is also most gratifying to us. I need not say that we are all proud of the latest recipient of the Life Saving Medal of the Order in Gold. To us Mrs. Starr exemplifies in a supreme degree the ancient traditions of brave and chivalrous service of this Order and the high standard of personal courage and sacrifice for which the Association stood during the war. (Applause.) I join Lord Rawlinson in his hope that the years to come may witness a continued expansion of the membership of the Order and of its beneficent work into fresh fields and pastures new. I heartily associate myself in his commendation of those whose labours have made the work of the Association successful ; and in particular I desire to thank Sir Malcolm Hailey for his admirable work as Chairman of the Executive Committee for many years. (Applause.) He has carried on this labour of love in the midst of continuous pressure of arderons and responsible official duties, the burden of which I am in the best position to appreciate because many of them I have to help him to bear.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society, 1923.

But I would not allow this opportunity to pass without expressing my appreciation of his services to you. I can assure you that during the time, that I have been here in India, and have known the immense calls upon his time and upon his activities, it always becomes a wonder to me, that he could remain capable, as we all know, to the extreme degree, always ready to do any valuable work and never apparently suffering under the strain of too much labour. And in this connection I cannot resist from shaking my own hand in congratulation of the judgment which I have displayed in selecting Sir Frederick White to carry on the work. (Applause.) We all know that in his hands the work of the Society is sure to progress. It is only another illustration of the fact, which human beings are always learning more and more to appreciate, that the higher the human being gets the more he understands the value of the saying when one man resigns and another man succeeds and the world goes on.

As regards the work of the Indian Red Cross Society, the year has been one of particular interest. India's representation at the Bangkok Conference and the visit to India of the delegation of the League of Red Cross Societies have shown to the Indian public that the work of the Society has more than a local and parochial significance. Sir Claude Hill's tour and the lectures delivered by him, by Dr. Peter and Mr. Bryson have stimulated interest in various centres in India; an Organizing Secretary has been appointed; Local Councils have been established in various Provinces; there has been a marked increase in non-official interest. As an instance of this popular interest I may point to the very warm response of the Bombay public to the special appeal so admirably launched and managed by Lady Lloyd for assistance to Red Cross funds recently in that Presidency. The signs and portents are most hopeful. We have every reason to expect that the great utility of the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society, 1923.

Society in war as an auxiliary of the fighting forces is now established for us on a permanent footing as a powerful benevolent agent in times of peace. The Society has set out on its civil programme of awakening interest in education in matters of health and hygiene, of improvements in the provision of nurses, of assistance to hospitals, of special efforts to ameliorate conditions of motherhood and child welfare. It does not strive to rival other Institutions, but to help them to maintain themselves and to expand their activities. It does not seek to enter the domain of hospital management or sanitation in the sphere of the authorities of the military, civil or Local Bodies' administration ; but it aims at helping them where they require help and of creating an atmosphere of knowledge and of appreciation among the public of what they stand for, which will ensure support both financial and practical aid for these Institutions and increase their usefulness wherever their assistance is required. I may leave their work here at the outset of their new career. They have a wide field for their labours ; but the organization for its exploration has been wisely planned ; and best of all there are abundant signs of that spirit of determination and keenness which will lead to success. I hope and believe that during the next year when the Societies will have been able to concentrate more upon this work during times of peace than has been possible perhaps during the past, that great strides will be made, great progress will be achieved, and that when we meet next year, and listen once more to the reports of these two Societies and especially to the increased activity which the Indian Red Cross in conjunction with other Red Cross Societies is importing into its work, we may feel proud of all that they have accomplished, we may feel pleased that human agency has been able to do so much and we may congratulate ourselves upon the efforts of those who have conducted the work of this Association (loud and prolonged applause).

21st July
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS
PRESENTED BY A DEPUTATION OF MEMBERS OF THE
COUNCIL OF STATE AT VICEREGAL LODGE ON 21ST JULY
1923.

Sir Manakjee Dadabhoj and Gentlemen.—The views you have expressed to me are a powerful presentment of Indian opinion by Councillors of State whose sobriety of judgment and sense of responsibility I have learnt to value and respect. The occasion of your interview with me is unusual inasmuch as your Chamber is still in Session, but I appreciate your reasons for wishing to place your opinions before me by this means in order that I may communicate them to His Majesty's Government before they reach the final stage in their consideration of the Kenya problem.

I am however greatly embarrassed in discussing the situation with you, as indeed you have shown you are well aware from your address to me ; and I readily acknowledge your desire not to place me and my Government in a more difficult position than is inevitable in the present conditions.

At the moment of addressing you I do not know whether His Majesty's Government has reached a decision and if it has, what are its terms. My Government has quite lately been consulted upon certain points at issue and has made representations in reply to the Secretary of State. I much regret therefore that I cannot speak to you with the freedom and frankness I should wish and that I cannot enter into discussion with you regarding the negotiations which have been and, as far as I am aware, may still be proceeding. It has been publicly known for some time that a decision of His Majesty's Government will be announced in a very few days ; and it is therefore not surprising that prophecies and rumours should reach you although I am unaware of the exact form they have taken or of the information upon which they are based. It is natural therefore that your anxiety to obtain some forecast of the probable terms of

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by a deputation of Members of the Council of State at Viceregal Lodge on 21st July 1923.

His Majesty's Government's decision should be as keen as the intensity of interest in this problem among those who influence responsible Indian thought. I wish I were able to give you some indication of the probable conclusions of His Majesty's Government, but as I have already explained to you that is impossible.

At this moment I can only say to you that the Imperial Government is fully conscious of the importance to Imperial interests of the issues raised. You rightly observe that you need not elaborate to me the state of public feeling in India upon the question. We have been aware of it from the first and immediately made communications upon it to His Majesty's Government. We have realised that it is not merely conditions in Kenya that were at issue but that in certain aspects of the problems raised, Kenya has come to be regarded in India as the test of the sincerity of the British advocacy and acceptance of the principle of equality of treatment of Indians with citizens from other parts of the Empire the principle formally recorded in a resolution at the Imperial Conference of 1921 and of such far reaching importance. It bound His Majesty's Government as also those Dominions which subscribed to it. It was a just recognition recorded with due solemnity of the claims advanced by India.

You will realise that the solution of the Kenya problem is not so easy as may at first sight appear to those who regard it from one side only. I am sure that you yourselves have understood at least some of the difficulties which have presented themselves to His Majesty's Government—difficulties frequently occur in the application of accepted principles to concrete facts I do not believe for one moment that His Majesty's Government, with whom the decision rests, will fail to act upon the principle accepted in 1921. His Majesty's Government are

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by a deputation of members of the Council of State at Viceregal Lodge on 21st July 1923.

charged with the responsibility of administering the colony. They have a paramount duty to its African inhabitants who are by far the largest community. Equally they are under obligation, with due regard to their position as Trustees for the African to protect the interests of other communities. His Majesty's Government have never failed to recognise that they must act with justice to all communities including Indians and Europeans. From all I have gathered from the Press and elsewhere I have observed that during the discussion and negotiations proceeding in London the opinion was gradually evolved and publicly expressed that in the present condition of the African population it would be unwise to make further advance at present towards responsible self-Government. If this should be His Majesty's Government's decision, and as a result Kenya would remain a Crown Colony, I think this conclusion should be cordially welcomed by Indians. It should give them greater security for the protection of their interests and of their rights of citizenship.

There is one other aspect of this problem which is of momentous Imperial interest. Proposals have been advanced with great persistence and ability for a law which would in effect shut out Indians from immigration into Kenya. I find it difficult to believe that His Majesty's Government would be a party to such discrimination in a Crown Colony. I refuse to accept the notion that His Majesty's Government would agree to a proposal which would, it appears to me, run wholly contrary to the general policy of the Imperial Government. But I must refrain from further discussion as it is dangerous at this moment. I must ask you at present to rest content in the knowledge that the views you have stated to me to-day are in substance those we have persistently submitted to His Majesty's Government as the opinion of India. That they are presented by you to-day gives added weight to them. I wish I could put all the facts

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by a deputation of members of the Council of State at Viceregal Lodge on 21st July 1923.

before you ; you would then realise that my Government has been in full sympathy with the general views of the Indian community ; that it has never wavered in the representation of them to His Majesty's Government : that it has acted as the spokesman and advocate for Indian opinion and sentiment. In this connection let me remind you that in my Council we have had the benefit of Indian colleagues sitting with us, not only assisting us with their wisdom and judgment but reflecting to us the intensity of the sentiment of India on these great Imperial questions. Sir Narasimha Sarma is the head of the department that has had charge of the subject, and those of you who know him will recognise that it could not have been in abler or more patriotic hands.

You have referred to the powerful influences that have been brought to bear upon His Majesty's Government and public opinion in England against the legitimate claims of India. We should, however, remember that powerful influences that have been continuously exerted in support of India and especially we should remember that throughout these long and difficult discussions we have had the full support of Mr. Montagu and, after his resignation, of Lord Peel who has been in active communication with me and my Government throughout this critical period. At one period after Lord Peel had become Secretary of State we thought a decision had been arrived at which involved some compromise but which was acceptable to us as a Government. It is not open to me to discuss its details with you at this moment. Unfortunately the compromise never became effective, but this certainly was not due to any failure or omission of the India Office for every effort was made on India's behalf by Lord Winterton acting under the instructions of Lord Peel.

I would ask you to reserve your judgment upon this and other questions relating to it and not to come to premature conclu-

Deputations on the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill, the 23rd July 1923.

sions upon rumours or prophecies which are not founded upon accurate or official information. You may rely upon your representations being communicated forthwith to His Majesty's Government where I trust, and indeed I am confident, they will receive that consideration which is due to representations made by members of the Council of State at a critical moment and on so serious a subject.

23rd July DEPUTATIONS ON THE MADRAS HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS BILL, 23RD JULY 1923.

In replying to the Representatives of the Deputations His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen.—I am sure you would not expect me to answer to-day all the observations made in the course of the addresses to me. I have listened to them with profound interest and to the arguments advanced—especially to the very careful and well thought out arguments of Mr. Rangachariar and of those gentlemen who followed him who dealt with some points that had not been pressed by him. You will understand and, I am sure, appreciate there are perhaps one or two especially to whom I appeal—that it is only I hope on rare occasions that I as Governor General should refuse to give assent to a Bill which has passed the local Legislative Council and comes to me endorsed by the votes of a considerable majority in that Council and supported by the Local Government.

I am not yet in a position even to consider the views of the Local Government because the full case is not yet before me and I am not in a position to deal with it ; but it has been a matter of great interest to me to hear and meet you to-day. Let me

Deputations on the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill, the 23rd July 1923.

assure you that I do not undervalue the fact that you have come from a long distance to this mountainous resort in order that you might place your case before the King-Emperor's Representative; I have taken care that everything you have said, should be duly recorded in a stenographic note so that I shall have the opportunity, with the assistance of my advisers of considering every one of the arguments you have put before me. I have already mentioned the great principle on the one side. Reference has been made to another and—you may be sure—I shall not leave it out of consideration. The Governor-General has heavy burdens to carry and has functions to discharge which at times place him in a position of great responsibility. Upon him is laid the duty of determining the action to be taken when I hope and indeed believe, on the rarest of occasions the policy or the principle of a Bill passed by a Legislative Council brings it within the ambit of the special powers entrusted to him. The Governor General's duty is not, as you well know, merely to give effect to the views of the majority, a particular exception is in relation to Bills which contain provisions affecting religion or religious rites. And no doubt the reason is because the policy of the British Government and of the Government of India—as Mr. Rangachariar so well observed—is not to interfere with religion or with the religious rites of British subjects in British India. It is not only to refrain from interference with them in their religion or religious rites, but to allow them full liberty to carry on their own religion in their own way according to their own belief. That is, I believe, one of the essential principles of British rule which has caused it to be regarded as a just and liberal administration.

I have to consider this Bill from that aspect and in the light of views you have placed before me to-day, supplementing the arguments already presented to me succinctly in the memo-

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation of Muhammadan Members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on 26th July 1923.

randa which I have studied. All that I will say to you to-day is that I recognize the obligations upon me and shall not shrink from them. I have to carry out my charge and to weigh the two great principles which I have stated to you. On the one hand there is the elected representatives in Council whose views are recorded in the Bill and are supported by the Provincial Government—as I assume they will be. On the other hand there is that fundamental principle of British Government in India which the British Parliament has taken care should be preserved—the freedom of religion from interference. You will remember—these are my final words—that the provisions of our constitution make it imperative, as it seems to me, upon the Governor-General to consider not only whether the Bill affects religion but how far it affects it and what its consequences may involve. I shall devote close attention to it and I can assure you that in this stage you will not have occasion to complain that its consideration to use the colloquialism was rushed through.

26th July HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE DEPUTATION OF MUHAMMADAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT VICEREGRAL LODGE, SIMLA, ON 26TH JULY 1923.

Gentlemen.—Last week on receiving the news that agreement had been reached at Lausanne, my Government sent the following telegram to the Secretary of State.

“ We request you to convey to His Majesty’s Government our deep gratification at the news that an agreement has been reached at Lausanne and peace in Near East

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation of Muhammedan Members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on 26th July 1923.

has been secured. The news will be received with unbounded relief and thankfulness by the Moslems of India. The progress of the long negotiations has been followed by me and my Government stage by stage with the keenest interest, and our hopes and anxieties throughout have been shared by the Muhammedans of the Indian Empire. We have never faltered in the confidence we reposed in the issue of the efforts of His Majesty's Government to secure peace and we desire to take the occasion of their successful conclusion to convey our feelings of gratitude to His Majesty's Government, the Marquis Curzon and those associated with him, feelings in which we are assured the vast majority of Moslems in India wish to be associated with us."

"The sentiments which you, the Muhammedan Members of the Indian Legislature, have expressed to me to-day have more than confirmed the accuracy of our prophecy,—and abundant evidence of rejoicing and gratification among the Moslems of India has reached and continues to reach me from all sides. The peace was actually signed on the 24th of July; but the news only became generally known yesterday that is on the 25th: and the fact that these joyful tidings reached the Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in India on their *Id* day is a coincidence of specially happy augury.

I need not travel over the past history of our anxieties regarding the situation in the Near East and the revision of the Treaty of Sevres—for you know the history as well as I do. From the outset my predecessor Lord Chelmsford and his Government made it their care to keep His Majesty's Government acquainted through the Secretary of State with the feelings of

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*His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation of Muhammedan
Members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at
Viceroyal Lodge, Simla, on 26th July 1923.*

the Moslems of India on this subject; and you have shown from your address that you are fully appreciative of the persistent support which Mr. Montagu gave to him and later to me. You also know that it has throughout been my aim and that of my Government in like manner to bring the views of responsible Moslem opinion in India clearly and forcibly before first Mr. Montagu and later Lord Peel. For my part I have cherished it as my privilege and considered it my duty to obtain consideration of the aspirations of Indian Moslems and to urge their fulfilment as far as they appeared to be just and reasonable. The successive Secretaries of State for India warmly and strenuously supported my efforts in this direction, and I have from time to time received repeated assurances from His Majesty's Government that they would not fail to give due weight to the representations received from India in so far as they were compatible with justice and with their obligation to their allies and to other nations. The multitude of interests involved, however, rendered a settlement acceptable to all nations concerned a matter of great complexity and difficulty; and there were times during the progress of negotiations when our expectations of reaching an agreement sank, when prospects of a settlement appeared on the point of vanishing and when the situation caused the gravest apprehension; but in spite of this, I refused to be dismayed and held in the words of the poet that " If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars "; and my confidence and the encouragement I have been able to give to the various deputations which have approached me from time to time, I am thankful to say, have not been falsified.

Throughout the difficult days of Turkey's estrangement from us, I and my Government have sympathised with the feelings of your co-religionists in the perplexities which events in the great war brought into being for them. Those days have

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the ceremony of proroguing the two Houses of the Imperial Legislature on 28th July 1923.

now ended. The British Government and the Angora Government are at peace. It is our hope that the peace may be long enduring. Before the late rupture ties of gratitude bound the Turks in friendship to the British Empire : and on more than one occasion the influence and forces of Britain were arrayed to protect them from powerful enemies. It is not too much to hope that time may obliterate the memory of their recent estrangement from us and that peace may engender the rebirth in new strength of those cordial relations which once prevailed. Recent embarrassments for a time dimmed the lustre of the loyalty and attachment which bound the Indian Moslems to the British Crown but I am confident that henceforth the old traditions will shine forth with renewed light and vigour.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY OF PROROGUING THE TWO HOUSES OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATURE ON 28TH JULY 1923.

28th July
1923.

I am here to-day to address you on what must be generally recognized to be a most important occasion. This is the last day of this Session of the Legislature and the last day of the last Session of the first Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act of 1919. The close of this Session marks a stage in the working of those reforms. We have reached the end of a definite part or chapter in that gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Indian administration which is the declared policy of the British Parliament. We have advanced one step forward, an important step, in the progressive realization of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. I pause to dwell on this point. I desire others to realize, as I do, what the end.

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of this period means for India. It began by a momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government who determined it to be necessary to give effect to this policy by successive stages and forthwith to take substantial steps in that direction. Since that announcement we have been travelling on that road : and we have now almost reached the halfway house on that journey. We in India at this time will naturally desire to pause and appraise our achievement ; but this stage holds interest not only for us,—though it must have a special and intimate importance for us,—but for a wider public. Of necessity at the close of this Session the British Parliament upon whom lies the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, must look back and take stock, in the words of the preamble of the Act, “ of the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service have been conferred ”.

There is another aspect of the question.. Our constitution enacts that on the expiration of 10 years after the passing of the Act of 1919 a Statutory Commission shall be appointed to enquire into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in British India and all matters connected therewith ; and to report thereon. In effect at the time stated the progress and achievement under the reforms are to be weighed in the balance for the purpose of determining the degree and extent of the next move forward. They are to be tested in the crucible for the alchemist to decide of what metal they consist and whether they ring true. I remind you that time is passing and that we have almost reached the moment when half that statutory period will have elapsed. The achievement of the Indian Legislature and especially of the first Legislative Assembly in these circumstances assumes a special importance. The work they have accomplished, the influence they have exercised, the example

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and experience they bequeath to their successors all contribute to that atmosphere of success or failure which will surround the Reformed Constitution when the Mother of Parliaments sends her representatives to enquire into the working of the system of Government.

To-day we are bringing to a conclusion the proceedings of the first Indian Parliament under the Reforms and we are assisting at the obsequies of our first Legislative Assembly ; it is therefore meet and proper that we should review past action as we pronounce its funeral oration ; but we are also at the stage which precedes and heralds the birth of a second Assembly ; and we may for this reason also fitly assess our experience and hand on its fruits for the benefit of our successors.

I have spoken of the special interest which our proceedings to-day have for ourselves and for the British Parliament. They are also keenly watched by a larger public. No one can have failed to note the great growth of interest in the proceedings of the Indian Legislature which has been a prominent feature of the British press in the last two years. Time was, when the notices of Indian affairs in the British Press were few and intermittent. That day has passed with the reforms. Time was at the outset of the reforms, when a section of the Indian Press professed to ignore the deliberations of the Indian Legislature except for occasional and brief outbursts of malicious depreciation. Those days are gone. You may have your detractors ; you may have your critics ; but you have now everywhere created and sustained a vivid and living interest in your actions. You have made the Indian Legislature the mirror of events in India. All matters of importance to India are reflected in your questions and resolutions. Before I pass to your achievements in the working of the reforms, I will examine the political situation regarding the reforms. Those who are

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opposed to the true interests of India and are blind to her position in the British Empire and to the mutual protection and strength those ties assure, have not been slow to allege that the reforms are of a transitory nature ; that they were the outcome of the political complexion of a moment ; that they have neither substance nor permanency ; that you live in short in a fool's paradise whose palaces and gardens will vanish in the twinkling of an eye like the passing of a mirage. Nothing could be more untrue. I came to India immediately after the initiation of the Reformed Constitution, pledged to carry on that constitution and entrusted with special and new responsibilities by His Majesty as Governor General to that end. On me was the charge laid that it was His Majesty's will and pleasure that " the plans laid by our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of our Empire may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among our Dominions ". A solemn declaration of policy had been made by His Majesty's Government to the same purport ; the legislation had been passed with the assent of all political parties in England. Since then there has been no change and there will be no change in the announced policy. It is the recognized policy of the British Government however constituted. There have been changes in Prime Ministers, changes of parties in power in England, changes in the personnel of the Secretary of State for India ; but the fundamental policy as regards Indian reforms has remained unaltered ; and it is the unshaken determination of the British Government to carry out those reforms not only in letter but in spirit.

There has been criticism of the illusory nature of the reforms. Those who wish to hinder the progress of India along her settled path, have charged the reforms with being an empty-shell without a core. They have termed them a dress giving,

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only the trappings of reality to a dead body which had neither life nor force.

The achievements of the Indian Legislature have been derided. Their position and privileges have been ridiculed ; their motives have been misinterpreted. Their sincerity and patriotism have been attacked. Let history be their judge. I am confident that no difficulty will be found in sweeping aside those travesties of their earnest and constructive labours ; but this is not all. The Assembly itself has been at times despondent. There have been moments in this house when voices have been uplifted crying on the Reforms as a niggardly gift and a sham. My sympathy at all times is with laudable desires for constitutional advance and longings for a wider horizon ; but when I examine the position the Legislative Assembly has attained, the use it has made of its opportunities, the effect and dignity with which it conducts its debates and the broader aspect of its powers upon the policy of the Government of India, I cannot but feel that the Assembly at times takes far too narrow and restricted a view of its potentialities and real influence ; and I must suspect that sentiment on occasion tends to obscure reason and dim the vision of those solemn promises of the British Government and of the Charter of Indian liberties of which the Government of India Act is the repository. Weigh for a moment the influence and power of the representative element of this house against that of its predecessor the Imperial Legislative Council. Compare the realities of its responsibilities with pre-existing conditions. Reflect on the establishment on a firm basis in this house of Parliamentary traditions and on their incalculable effect on the future.

I do not desire to enter upon a catalogue of the legislative achievements of the Legislature or to enumerate in detail those

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resolutions or questions or recall those debates which have produced material results on the executive action of the Government. I prefer to recapture for a moment the atmosphere and the state of political feeling in India when I assumed my office and to ask you to judge how far this has changed and how far your influence and action have contributed to this change. When I first came to India I was at pains to get into touch with political thought, to hear grievances and study the press so that I might acquaint myself with those matters which appeared to be a subject of general complaint. My impressions of the burning questions of the day in Indian opinion as gathered from those sources were as follows. In the first place there was a deep tide of resentment regarding curtailment of liberties. The more progressive considered the statutory restrictions on the freedom of the press to be unnecessary, unduly restrictive and incompatible with the spirit of reforms. The same exception was taken to a number of special enactments restrictive of certain aspects of political agitation and known as the Repressive Laws, and particularly included the Rowlatt Act. Strong views were expressed to me as regards the number of British troops employed in India, the strength of the Indian Army and the burden of military expenditure. The military position was represented as showing a total want of confidence in India and as strangling the material expansion of the country by weight of Army expenditure. Though Indianization had begun in the Civil Services, the absence of any regular scheme of Indianization of the Army was quoted as a proof of the mistrust of Indians by the British element and as designed effectually to prevent the ultimate realization of responsible self-government in India. A like suspicion was alleged to be at the root of the failure to associate elected representatives of the people in advisory capacities with the problems coming before the Departments of the Executive Government.

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India was represented as dominated in fiscal matters by the British Government and by the economic interests of Great Britain. The stores policy of India was said to be dictated to stifle the expansion of industry in India and accusations were levelled that its main purpose was to place the maximum amount of orders with British manufacturers. Finally, the bureaucratic Government were charged with having established for the perfection of their own ends an unduly complex and expensive administrative machine and with having expanded its activities in directions not desired by the Indian public and out of proportion to India's resources !

I need hardly recall to you how the case now stands in regard to those subjects. For I know that you count the measures, which have been adopted by my Government on the strength of your representation of public opinion in those matters, among the most priceless pages in your annals ; you may perhaps feel that the policies you advocated are not yet in all cases fully accepted, but when you leave this House you may assuredly point to many grievances, which were the cause of much bitterness and suspicion, checked by you in their early growth and now lying strangled on the open road you have left behind you.

These achievements arrest immediate attention ; but there are other matters to be mentioned, particularly as they relate to activities of a more constructive character which will, I trust and believe, have an important and beneficial effect upon the future interests of India. In the Indian Factories Amendment Acts, the Indian Mines Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Legislature has placed on the Statute book measures destined to protect labour and has taken a progressive view of that great responsibility which rests on its shoulders as the representative of a vast labouring population. The Indian Emigration Act deals with the difficult problem of safeguarding

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the interests of Indians who may emigrate to find a livelihood abroad ; and a striking feature of this legislation is that the final decision of measures for their protection has been vested in the Legislature itself. No measure before you was hedged about with such special difficulties as the law to abolish racial distinctions ; but no rift occurred in the delicate web of compromise and good will ; and the statute is now with us—a permanent monument of mutual desire to work together to a common understanding. In the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, the Legislature brought to a successful conclusion a task of great magnitude and complexity which had occupied the energies of our draftsmen for nearly a decade. It will fall to few Legislatures to have to dispose of a measure of such difficulty and importance in the domain of the criminal law.

While at times sentiment has run high and some event has found the Assembly and the Executive Government apparently at opposite poles, these differences have seldom been perpetuated and friendly and frank discussions have frequently led in the end to better understanding.

Some differences unfortunately have remained. It was perhaps scarcely to be expected that at the present stage of the constitution every divergence of opinion between the Government and the Legislative Assembly would be composed by discussion. Often my Government has accepted the views of the Legislature notwithstanding that these did not coincide with those of the Executive. But a special responsibility has been laid by the constitution upon the Governor-General in certain cases and in my judgment special powers are essential to the discharge of the duties of the Executive in the present state of constitutional development in India. Nevertheless the occasions of the use of these special powers should be, and, I am happy to observe, have been rare. The most recent and not-

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able instance of their exercise was in connection with the necessity for balancing the budget. The reasons for the action which I felt it incumbent upon me to take at that time have been published. My action provoked criticisms; I have no intention of reopening the discussion save that I will add that in my opinion subsequent events have tended to confirm the wisdom of my original decision. The responsibility was grave and the decision rested with me alone. I trust that those in the Assembly who have felt and expressed themselves strongly on the subject will leave this House without any feeling of bitterness, holding to their opinion as their consciences may dictate and acknowledging the same liberty to others who may differ from them, among whom I count myself.

My Government have to acknowledge a continuous and solid measure of support, in times of disturbance and agitation, from the Legislature, and in general a steady influence exerted for the maintenance of law and order. I have said enough. I trust, to establish beyond controversy the real advance accomplished and to place beyond the power of depreciation the disciplined efforts to increase the well-being of the people of India which have characterised this, the first Indian Legislature.

Before I part from the Legislative Assembly, I wish to pay a tribute to Sir Frederick Whyte who, with a knowledge and experience brought from the British Parliament and imbued with the ancient traditions of that House, has presided over your deliberations. I know that you would wish to be associated with me in offering a meed of appreciation of the technical knowledge, sympathy, patience and fairness of mind which have characterised his association with your Assembly.

For me as Governor-General, the first Legislative Assembly under the reforms and in my term of office must necessarily hold special ties of interest and I must view its dissolution with no small measure of regret. My feelings on its disappearance

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are however tempered by the knowledge that I still retain without change the valuable services of the Council of State ; and I am sustained by the thought that I can continue to rely on the sobriety of judgment of this Chamber of elders which, with this Assembly, formed part of the first Indian Legislature and on their support of the best interests of India in all matters that closely touch her well-being.

I had intended to confine myself to-day to a survey of the work of the Indian Legislature over the period of the life of the first Legislative Assembly and not to dwell on matters of recent occurrence too near to us to be judged in their proper perspective ; but before I pass to another part of my subject I feel it my duty to make some observations about Kenya which is, at the moment, uppermost in my thoughts and yours. The news of the decision regarding Kenya came to me and to my Government no less than to you as a great and severe disappointment ; for India had made the cause of Indians in Kenya her own. As His Majesty's Government has stated, this decision conflicts on material points with the strongly expressed views of my Government as laid before the Cabinet by the Secretary of State for India. India's representations were fully placed before His Majesty's Government and received most patient and careful consideration ; but we must record our deep regret that His Majesty's Government did not feel justified in giving greater effect to them. We are conscious that there were important aspects, perhaps not sufficiently understood by us, which His Majesty's Government were called upon to weigh and determine, and we fully appreciate and acknowledge their whole-hearted efforts to arrive at a fair and equitable conclusion. They have announced their decision and the Government of India must consider it and arrive at its conclusions ; if submission must be made, then with all due respect to His Majesty's Government, it can only be under protest.

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We do not fail to realise the great difficulties in which His Majesty's Government were placed. They were faced with a conflict between two powerful interests. The deputations with great vehemence urged two completely divergent points of view. Between these two, there appeared to be no ground for agreement on any point ; and besides, there lay on His Majesty's Government the grave responsibility for considering the unchampioned and inarticulate interests of the native population which form the great majority in the Colony. It is not easy in India with strong feeling for the Indian side of the cause, to appreciate with real detachment the considerations which His Majesty's Government had to bring to bear on the difficult problem. Attention in India is naturally concentrated on the rights and claims of Indians, while His Majesty's Government have a larger field to cover and wider responsibilities to exercise ; and we must remember that although the decision has disappointed us, yet on some points to which we were strongly opposed, but to which the settlers party attached great weight, the decision is against them. On three important points, decisions favourable to the Indians have been pronounced. His Majesty's Government have declared against the grant of responsible government within any period of time which need now be taken into consideration. Further, they have refused to countenance the introduction of legislation designed to exclude from British Colony immigrants from any other part of the British Empire. In addition, they have definitely rejected the principle of segregation. On the question of the future control of immigration, no final conclusion has been reached. The principle stated is unexceptionable and, as a declaration of policy, it will be welcomed by Indians. We are, however, uncertain as to the precise method by which immigration is to be controlled, and how the control will affect Indians ; but you may rest assured that I and my Government will use every

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the ceremony of proroguing the two Houses of the Imperial Legislature on 28th July 1923.

effort to impress our views on this subject without delay upon His Majesty's Government.

It is unfortunate that the last days of the first Legislature should have been overclouded by events regarding the treatment of Indians overseas. Yesterday the Legislative Assembly passed a Bill enabling the Governor-General in Council to frame rules, if and when he considers it desirable, to regulate the entry into, and residence in, British India of persons domiciled in British Dominions and possessions other than the United Kingdom. The principle of reciprocity had already been accepted by the Imperial Conference and therefore a Bill conferring powers on the Governor-General in Council in his discretion to make rules for the purpose of enforcing reciprocity is in itself unobjectionable ; but the moment selected for this legislation may, in some quarters, be regarded as unfortunate, especially when accompanied by speeches in favour of retaliatory measures. It is but natural that there should be a desire in your mind publicly to express your determination to befriend and support Indians overseas to the best of your ability, but I must express serious doubt whether your object will be effected by these means. Will their position be improved politically and materially by steps in the nature of retaliation ? May it not have an opposite effect and make their situation more difficult ? Have they been consulted ? Is it their wish ? Apart from other considerations, will it help India ? I shall not dwell upon the subject. The Bill cannot reach the other Chamber this Session and meanwhile there will be opportunity for further information and reflection.

I have paused to-day to examine the progress of the first Legislature and the position it has attained. In the face of vehement and sometimes bitter opposition, you elected to give your services to your country and became members of the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the annual Prize distribution at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, on 25th September 1923.

Legislature, determined to devote your powers to attaining your aims and ideals by constitutional methods. You may not have accomplished in the short period all that you had hoped. You may perhaps find the pace of progress too slow, but can you point to greater achievements for India during so brief a period of time ? Would other means have accomplished as much ? There are those who have set other ideals before them. Destruction, not construction, is their avowed aim. They would wreck the reforms. What have they accomplished for India ? What blessings have they brought to her people ? Have they brought harmony ? Have they brought security ? Have they brought peace ? What goal have they set before them ? By what road are they to attain to it ?

You need not meddle with uncertainties or speculate on the unknown. You know the port to which your ship is sailing. You have set your course ; the star by which you steer, shines bright before you. The first stage of your passage lies behind you in your wake. You have learnt to work your craft. Whatever storms or dangers may lie before you, you are confident in this knowledge and by the help of Providence, you will bring your ship in safety to its journey's end. It is in this spirit that I ask those who have the interests of India in their hearts, to use their influence in the coming elections to help India forward by the only secure road to the attainment of her cherished desires. The Council of State and Legislative Assembly are now prorogued.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL
PRIZE DISTRIBUTION AT THE BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL,
SIMLA, ON 25TH SEPTEMBER 1923.

25th September 1923.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I am glad of the opportunity of visiting this school today on the occasion of the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the annual Prize distribution at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, on 25th September 1923.

annual prize-giving and on the even more momentous occasion of its Diamond Jubilee. Sixty years have passed since the school, under its first Headmaster, opened its doors to its alumini in temporary quarters at Jutogh. To-day we see it firmly established with permanent buildings, with all the requirements and paraphernalia of a sound school, prospering and revered as an important institution for the education of the sons of Europeans and Anglo-Indians and a limited number of Indians. To-day, after the lapse of many years, a direct answer may be given to the prayer of its pious founder, Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, that in the fulness of time the school might become "not less secure and by God's blessing not less useful than Winchester, Rugby and Marlborough."

As the Headmaster has reminded us, the Viceroy has been connected with the school, ever since Lord Canning interested himself in its inauguration and since Sir John Lawrence laid the foundation stone of the present buildings in 1866.

As visitor of the school in succession to those distinguished predecessors in the high office I now hold, I desire to express my satisfaction that the watchful care of the Trustees and the Governors of the school have fostered and preserved its interest through all these years and that by their efforts and those of successive headmasters and the staff, the Bishop Cotton School in the year of its Diamond Jubilee stands forth well equipped to fulfil the very objects which its founder had in view. Through the long years it has, like every other human institution, had its trials and tribulations. It has emerged from them so successfully that at the present moment we are celebrating a diamond jubilee which should imply by its very term solidity and brilliance. I trust that in the future, Bishop Cotton School will be remembered among those institutions which the hand of time only touches to mellow and consolidate and to which the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the annual Prize distribution at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, on 25th September 1923.

passage of years brings but advance in respect and dignity. I hope that as the decades pass they will leave the school even firmer upon its foundations with ever growing reputation and extending influence.

My attention has often been directed to this school situate on the sunlit Knollswood spur with the dark pines and the deodars and the protecting mass of Jakko behind it, looking out towards the great plains of India in proximity to but aloof from the busy stir of the summer Headquarters of the Government of India. Boys, my thoughts have often turned to you who, in this peaceful and sheltered spot, are preparing for your life of activity in the vast country whose plains lay stretched out before you. I see a mental picture of you at your lessons, at your games, in your cadet corps and as boy scouts. These school days of yours will be a splendid training for the activities of your future life if only you are keen and enthusiastic about your school life. 'Tis not given to all to succeed to the first places. But even if you fall short of clear success in the activities I have already mentioned, you are learning by your daily experience both in work and in play the important qualities that will count later on. The ordinary course of your life in this school calls daily for the exercise of courage, of honesty and strength of purpose, of judgment, of stern effort and of determination. In your little world there is much that can only be attained by tolerance, by sympathetic understanding of the views of others, by unselfishness and by combination with your fellows. Your triumphs and your troubles appear to you as real and important as those that beset us in our wider spheres ; but those qualities that go to establish character,—the most telling force in life—are the same in the East as in the West, in youth as in age.

Here you serve an apprenticeship to those weapons with whose aid you can win your spurs hereafter and learn to gird

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club Dinner,
on 17th October 1923.*

on that armour which will stave off disaster in a wider arena and bring you triumphant through difficulties in the outside world. Do not be afraid to create and cherish ideals, even in your present early life. Create them now and keep them bright and shining throughout your future. Those get the best of life who formed ideals and standards early in youth and hold to them with undimmed lustre as the years pass. Times and circumstances may change, problems and difficulties may confront you, new situations may arise, despondency or disappointment may loom before you, but if—as I hope—you have carried from Bishop Cotton School your ideals, you will have a loadstone with you composed of affections, instincts and beliefs wiser than yourselves which will guide you through the storms and land you safely in harbour.

17th October 1923. HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT CHELMSFORD CLUB DINNER
ON 17TH OCTOBER 1923.

Sir Muhammad Shafi, Your Excellency and Gentlemen.—I am glad of this opportunity of again meeting the members of the Chelmsford Club and am especially grateful for the warm welcome you have extended to me. It was a happy inspiration of this Club to provide this social gathering, to refresh and encourage me upon entering the second half of my period of office. I thank Sir Muhammad Shafi for the graceful and eloquent terms in which he rapidly reviewed the march of events and for his more than kindly personal references to myself, and especially for his appreciation of such service as I may have been able to render in the noble cause of peace. I trust that his anticipations of the beneficial effects of the peace with Turkey will prove as fully justified in the future as his valuable counsel to me on Moslem aspirations and sentiments has often proved

His Excellency's speech at Chelmsford Club dinner, on 17th October 1923.

in the past. I should ill repay you if I indulged in a long political speech this evening, but nevertheless I should not adequately convey my obligation to the Club if I did not make some observations upon some aspects of the political situation.

You, Sir Muhammad, have referred to the new duties of a Viceroy under the present constitutional régime and have truly said that these involve responsibilities additional to those hitherto placed upon his shoulders. It is, however, not altogether without envy that I look back upon the activities of past Viceroys in the region of social welfare of the people, when I recall that such vastly important subjects as education, sanitation and public health have been transferred to Provincial Governments, and that my opportunities of service in this direction are very restricted. I have my consolation in the new duties which have been to me of supreme interest. Ever since my appointment it has been my special charge to assist and guide India to the best of my ability to further progress in parliamentary institutions.

During the first period of my Viceroyalty we have had to encounter some serious difficulties but fortunately they have in the main been surmounted. We must not, however, too readily assume that these may not recur, although probably in different forms. I earnestly trust that nothing will happen to check the constitutional march forward; but it must be remembered that India's progress will depend mainly upon the co-operation of the people and the impressions produced upon the British Parliament when the reforms again come before them for consideration. There are occasions when I wonder whether these aspects always remain present to the minds of some who are among the representatives of various shades of Indian political thought. To those who desire the advancement of India along the road mapped out for her, these considerations should be of supreme importance. I do not need to remind those who regretted the manifestations in 1921-22 of

His Excellency's speech at Chelmsford Club dinner, on 17th October 1923.

the effect produced upon the British people. The ensuing years between now and 1929 will be of vast moment to the friends of constitutional government. For this reason—although while deprecating them I am by no means inclined to regard them too seriously—I cannot view with complete unconcern the various suggestions and proposals that have formed the subject of discussion, indicating action that may be adopted when the newly elected Legislative Assembly commences its sessions. Doubtless much is said and planned in time of stress and excited controversy regarding future events which may not commend itself in calmer periods. Nevertheless, it may be useful to pause for a moment and to consider quietly and temperately the consequences if the threatened storm cloud did make its appearance and failed to disperse in the serener atmosphere it would meet in its journey. I refer to the subject to-night because I wish to impress upon those who really cherish the Reforms the necessity of avoiding any course which may encourage those—if there be any—who enter the Assembly for the purpose of wrecking the Constitution. If this purpose should exist and be pursued to its end—and let us for a moment assume—with the full measure of success desired, it would achieve at its highest realization a paralysis of the Reformed Constitution. Please do not misunderstand me; I do not believe that it will happen for I am convinced that there will be too great a sense of responsibility in the Assembly to permit it. But if it did, every true friend of Indian progress in parliamentary institutions could not fail to deplore it. Here indeed would be a check in the onward march and a severe blow would be dealt in India at the Reforms. And what will be gained? I do not pause further to analyse the possible situation; but I must add that even if this crisis did arise, it certainly would not paralyse Government for you may rest assured that we shall be prepared to meet the situation. The Government of the country will be continued, the administration will be carried on as

His Excellency's speech at Chelmsford Club dinner on 17th October 1923.

heretofore, save that the Reformed Constitution will be in abeyance. If this should happen I leave you to imagine the effect upon the British people and their representatives in Parliament and upon those who have persistently striven for the institution of representative Government.

In this connection I would also draw attention to the proposals for India's withdrawal from the Empire Exhibition and for the boycott of British goods. I am well aware of the wave of strong feeling that caused many public men to express themselves emphatically and even vehemently upon the Kenya decision of the Imperial Government. My Government's views are well-known ; they have been published and there is nothing to add to the opinion then formulated. We analysed the result of the White Paper and sought to balance our gains and losses comparing the results of the final decision with those of the original pronouncement. I cannot but think that in the public agitation too scant attention has been paid to the gains which are by no means inconsiderable as we demonstrated in the Government Resolution. Since the decision we have been in communication with the Secretary of State and we have received an assurance from him, in relation to the future rules affecting immigration, that when the proposals have been submitted to the Colonial Office, the Secretary of State will be consulted and will give us the fullest opportunity to represent our views before he makes reply. You may be certain that the Government of India realise the vital importance of the immigration question. But I am troubled by these boycott proposals, not because of the material results that may be achieved, but again because of the effect that will be produced upon the British public and upon Parliament. If India should determine to throw away the money already spent and should refuse the great place allotted her in the Exhibition, who would be the sufferer ? Certainly not England and the Empire, but

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India, or rather those parts of India which insist upon withdrawing. A unique opportunity would be lost of bringing India's products to the notice of England and the Empire, of displaying her wonderful resources and of quickening her development and increasing the welfare of her people. There is nothing to gain by a withdrawal but everything to lose. The cause of Indians overseas surely will not gain in strength by action of this character. Reliance should rather be placed upon the justice of the cause and the arguments in support of it than upon action which would completely fail in effect. These views equally apply to the proposed boycott of British and Empire goods. Attempts have been made in this direction in the past and as we know have never succeeded. I do not for a moment believe that any better fate will attend the present venture if it should be pursued. But I do not to-night wish to discuss the prospects of the movement. Whether it fails—as I believe it must—or whether it succeeds, the cause of progress in India will be injured. When passion is afame, wisdom is in peril. What is the purpose of these suggested boycotts? As I understand from the speeches delivered, it is to express resentment and indignation or to bring pressure to bear for the improvement of the condition of Indians overseas and mainly as a manifestation against the Kenya decision. I know my countrymen and have no hesitation in asserting that these boycotts, whether successful or unsuccessful, will completely fail in their intended effect; but they will convey an impression which will certainly not advance the cause of India. I hope none will be misled. I have but one object in mind. It is—if I can—to prevent action which, I fear, must have a prejudicial effect on the interests and the progress of India. Believe me the better course is to trust to the sense of fairplay and justice which is so strongly marked a characteristic of the British people.

You, Sir Muhammad, have referred to some of the clouds on our political horizon and especially to affairs in the Punjab

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and to the Hindu-Moslem situation. Interest in the Punjab naturally centres for the moment upon the affairs of Nabha State. I would have preferred to have passed them in silence because of a disinclination to dwell upon unpleasant incidents where the remedy has been applied and is actually in operation. From the outset my Government were anxious to publish only such information as was essential to establish the gravity of the events culminating in the Maharajah's surrender of his ruling powers ; and tonight I shall refrain from discussing the details of the charges established. I am happy to say that the relations of myself and of my Government with the Ruling Princes of India are eminently satisfactory. These are regulated in accordance with well established principles based upon treaties, sanads, and recognised practice, and no difficulty is experienced in adjusting with mutual goodwill any question that may come for consideration. Recently, however, a comparatively rare incident arose of a serious dispute between the States of Patiala and Nabha whose relations during 1921 began to deteriorate and rapidly approached a condition of menace to the King's peace. Grave charges were made by the State of Patiala, and particularly of systematic and deliberate perversion of justice, and of sentences based upon fabricated evidence which, if proved, would constitute a scandal of the gravest character. Charges and counter charges multiplied. Incidents occurred which threatened to develop—if they did not in fact develop—into armed conflict between the subjects of the two States. The King's peace was threatened and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility rests of preserving it, were called upon to act. The facts were complicated ; the charges were numerous ; the tangled skein was difficult to unravel. Meanwhile, the conditions on the borders of the two States could well be described as that of open hostility. The appointment of a special officer was requested. It was obvious that the truth could best be elicited by a judicial officer of high per-

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sonal reputation. The Government of India were fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. Justice Stuart, to whom we are deeply indebted for the care and ability he displayed in pursuing this long and laborious inquiry. It began early in January, proceeded practically without intermission and the report in its final and complete form was presented on the 14th June. But I had already, some few days before, become aware of its main conclusions. On the 5th June several days before the report was concluded, the Maharajah of Nabha must already have been informed by his advisers that the conclusions would be adverse to him, for that day and on his own initiative he went to Kasauli to see Colonel Minchin, the Agent to the Governor-General. Colonel Minchin duly reported to the Government of India the interview and the Maharaja's proposals to sever his connection with the administration of the State upon certain conditions. The more important of these were that he should retain his salute and the title of "His Highness," that he should hand over the administration of the State to the Government of India to be conducted as they thought fit in the interests of his son, that the Maharajah should formally abdicate when his son came of age, that the Maharaja should receive a personal allowance of three lakhs annually from the revenues of the State and that he would be prepared to pay compensation to Patiala. We gave the proposal most anxious consideration, for although we recognized that the Maharajah was now spontaneously making a proposal which, if accepted, would put an end to his rule in the State, it might be preferable to allow the regular procedure to take its course. But we had in mind the urgent necessity of arriving at a speedy decision. Upon the facts as determined, prisoners were languishing in jail,—the victims of deliberate injustice and oppression—who should be forthwith released. Reforms in the administration could not brook postponement. My Government agreed to accept His Highness' terms subject to some minor amendments, provided

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his submission was made immediately and voluntarily. The Maharajah immediately accepted those conditions which were then discussed between the Secretary of State and myself. On the 26th June, the conditions as finally approved were presented to His Highness by Colonel Minchin with the request that the acceptance should now be made in writing. Eventually on the 5th July the Maharajah confirmed a telegram which he had previously sent accepting the terms and I think that in the circumstances he was well advised.

Thus ended the rule of His Highness in the State of Nabha. It would have been open to the Maharajah to have awaited the considered judgment of the Government and then to have applied to me to appoint a Commission of Inquiry which, as provided by resolution, would ordinarily include a Judicial Officer and four persons of high status, of whom no less than two would be Ruling Princes. If dissatisfied with the decision of the Government, he could then appeal to the Secretary of State. This procedure would have been available to His Highness had he not preferred to make terms with the Government of India.

I am told that rumours are being circulated of His Highness' restoration in a short period or in a few years. It is well that there should be no illusions in this respect. His Highness has ceased for all time to rule in Nabha. In due course his son will succeed to the *gadi*. Meanwhile, the affairs of the State will be restored to order and justice will again prevail.

I shall not dwell to-night upon the Hindu-Moslem situation ; but it must be apparent that the relations between those two great communities must tend to keep India back rather than to urge her forward. Violent disturbances of the character that have been too often witnessed lately, present a sorry spectacle to the friends of India. Let us hope that better relations will now ensue and that the time may not be far

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to Lahore District Board's Address.

distant when these differences will completely have disappeared. Every true friend of India should assist in composing them and in fostering harmony to take the place of discord where it exists between the Hindu and the Moslem. Every true friend of India should devote his energies to promoting unity of the various peoples in India to the end that peace may prevail, that happiness may ensue and that hand in hand all the peoples of India may march together on the road of progress and attain the great place destined for her.

His Excellency the Viceroy arrived in Lahore on the morning of Monday, October 22nd, and received addresses of welcome in the Lawrence Hall from—

- (1) The District Board of Lahore,
- (2) The Lahore Municipal Committee,
- (3) The ex-Soldiers' Association, Lahore District, and
- (4) The Amritsar Municipal Committee.

His Excellency replied to each address individually and then addressed the four bodies collectively as stated on pages 51-52.

22nd October 1923. HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO LAHORE DISTRICT BOARD'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen,—I am grateful to the members of the District Board of Lahore for the very cordial welcome they have extended to Her Excellency and myself. I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to us to have this opportunity of visiting Lahore. The historical associations of the capital of the Punjab never cease to make special appeal to all who have studied the history of India ; and this centre of the manifold activities of the martial province of India awakes as keen an interest to-day as it did at any period of its past history. I am gratified to hear of the loyal assistance rendered by the district in the great

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to Lahore District Board's Address.

war : and I deeply appreciate your declaration of your sincere desire to help in the maintenance of peace and good government in your province. The administration looks to the enlightened members of your Board to correct and contradict false and mischievous rumours and to spread in the rural tracts of the district the true aspects of the aims and motives of Government. Your Government relies on you for active support in the suppression of crime and disorder ; and you on your part may count on the protection and good-will of the Provincial Government in this task.

I note your appreciation of the benefits already secured and still to be expected from the execution of great irrigation projects affecting your district. I think the most tangible proof of the energy and solicitude which the Punjab Government has displayed in the interests of the land-owners and cultivators of the Lahore District, is to be found in the fact that in the last 20 years the irrigated area of the district has increased by more than 40 per cent. This increase has brought untold security and prosperity to hundreds of villages throughout the tract.

You have alluded to the growing demand for local amenities and improvements in educational facilities and the difficulty of financing schemes for these purposes. I understand that the Minister of your Provincial Government in charge of Local Self-government has decided to hold a conference to examine this difficult subject very shortly ; and that the agenda for the conference contemplates an exhaustive examination of the needs of District Boards in connection with education, medical relief, public health and communications, questions of income and expenditure and the problem of assistance to funds of local bodies for specific purposes. I cannot foretell what the result may be, nor can I predict the action which your Local Government may decide to take ; but

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to Lahore Municipal Address.

I can give you an assurance that the general policy of Government is to help local bodies in beneficent measures when their resources permit it, provided that the local bodies in question have themselves first demonstrated that they have taken every possible step in the direction of financial self-help by assessment and collection of local rates and by economies in administration. The Central Government has already materially assisted the Government of the Punjab in turning a difficult corner in their financial stringency.

Her Excellency is deeply touched by your reference to her work for the women of India. I thank you once more for your very kind welcome. It has been a great pleasure to have met the members of your Board.

22nd
October
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO LAHORE MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the kind welcome which you have extended to Her Excellency and myself. I may assure you that I have been eagerly looking forward to renewing my acquaintance with the capital of the Punjab, of which I had an all too brief glimpse at a somewhat unfavourable time of year on my first arrival in India. You are justly proud of the beauties of your city and of its historical associations and buildings. We hope during our present visit to explore and admire Shahdara and Shalimar (of which I have already pleasantest recollections) with their memories of a famous Moghul Emperor and his bride and the fort and the Samadhi of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the martial ruler of the Sikh dynasty. We anticipate with equal pleasure visits to the more modern portions of Lahore city and civil station and to your public buildings. I understand from those who have been in touch with your city for the last quarter of a century that the great changes executed in Lahore reflect the fullest credit on all

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to Lahore Municipal Address.

those who have laboured to beautify and improve it. I know that Her Excellency, who deeply values your expression of appreciation of her work for the women of India, will take a special interest and pleasure in your educational and medical institutions for women.

I have heard your account of the schemes for the improvement of the city, its municipal amenities and civic administration with the greatest interest. At times it must appear even to the most sanguine and energetic members of a Corporation, among whom I may, I know, number your forceful President Chaudhri Shahabuddin, that municipal administration is a thankless task ; that the public does not realise the difficulties of finance, of reconciling conflicts of interest and of solving technical problems which lie behind even the smallest municipal achievement ; that the public is not sufficiently grateful for the sacrifice of private leisure and for the detriment to private careers and professional success suffered by the members of a Municipal Committee through their devotion to the interests of the civic administration. Nevertheless I counsel you to push ahead with your task, in spite of all disappointments, undeterred by difficulties, secure in the knowledge that the measure of the test of your services lies in the extent of the increase you procure in the well-being and convenience of the public whom you represent. In their welfare rests your reward. Fortify yourselves with the knowledge that the good you are able to achieve in this sphere is not only a benefit to Lahore, your own city, but to your country, India, as a whole. New opportunities create new obligations. Local Self-government has been entrusted to Ministers chosen from the representative element in Provincial Legislative Councils. The success of their working of the department depends on the efficiency of Municipal Committees, like that of Lahore, with non-official Presidents and elected Members. The

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to Lahore Municipal Address.

difficulties which confront these Committees in the municipal sphere are in their more limited scope counterparts of the problems of general administration ; and on their successful solution must depend the estimate of the capacity of these bodies and their members. These bodies in their turn are entitled to rely on the support of the public whom they represent and this support should be given by them without regard to racial considerations or communal differences. Unless citizens put aside in the public interest these more individual predilections, the chances of success may be prejudiced. All the above factors react in a serious degree on the progress which India as whole can make by the gradual development of self-governing institutions towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. For the British Parliament, upon whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, are to judge of the time and manner of India's advance ; and their action is to be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom these new opportunities of service have been conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

. Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and wish you all success in your labours for the welfare of the citizens of Lahore. I am sure that we shall take away most pleasant memories from your city.

22nd
October
1923.

H. E. THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE EX-SOLDIERS' ASSOCIATION, LAHORE.

Gentlemen,—I thank your Association very warmly for your kind greetings to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion

*His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the ex-Soldiers' Association,
Lahore.*

of our visit to Lahore, the capital of the martial Province of India. It is a great pleasure to me to meet so many members of this Association with distinguished service in the field to their credit ; and I use no formal phrase when I describe it as a privilege to receive an address from your Association because your objects are worthy of all praise. In the forefront of your charter you have set out the duty of preserving a spirit of devotion and loyalty to the Crown and the Government in the rising generation ; you have undertaken to provide recruits for the Army for the defence of your country. You have pledged yourselves to watch over the welfare of soldiers' families and to safeguard the interests of discharged and pensioned soldiers. There can be no nobler task than the duty you have placed before you.

I welcome your declaration that the members of your Association range themselves in the support of a just and stable Government. I am aware that, even at times at the expense of their popularity, the *ex-officers* and soldiers of this province have been of the greatest assistance in the support of law and order, and that Government can rely on them in the preservation of peace and in the discouragement of mischievous agitation. In the maintenance of this laudable tradition the assistance of your Association will be of the greatest value. Let me assure you of the sincere and abiding interest of my Government in all that concerns the welfare of the serving and pensioned officers and men of the Indian Army. Your Association can count on their unfailing support and protection at all times.

I have noted your desire to purchase lands in the Sutlej Valley Canal Colony and will bring this to notice of His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab. I understand that the project has not yet reached a stage where the distribution of land

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the ex-Soldiers' Association, Lahore. is in question, and that in any case the financial considerations involved are likely to demand in the interests of the tax-payer the disposal of the lands to be irrigated by the project on a strictly commercial basis. The education of soldiers' sons is engaging the closest attention of my Government. You are aware of the recent establishment of a Military College at Dehra Dun to prepare Indian students for Sandhurst. The College, I am glad to say, is prospering and gives promise of fulfilling the hopes my Government entertained for it. The Kitchener College at Delhi and the schools for the children of soldiers at Jullundur and Aurangabad are other aspects of our solicitude for the education of the sons of those who have served in the Army. We have hopes that these developments will be of substantial assistance in equipping the sons of our soldiers to take advantage of their new opportunities of service as commissioned officers of His Majesty the King-Emperor in the Indian Army or of winning a more prominent place in civil life.

I appreciate your desire to serve in the Legislatures and in public bodies. Such aspirations will always command my sympathy. I note that the Punjab Rules for the composition of the Legislative Council provide for the nomination of one Member from among Punjabi officers and soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Forces, and to this extent your desires have been met. I can hardly promise you a general extension of this specific concession ; but there are other possibilities of nomination which rest not on this special class qualification, but on recognition of public service and ability. These are qualities in which the articles of your Association enable you to make display and give you opportunity for proof of capacity. No one could be more gratified than myself if the members of your Association can achieve success in this wider sphere.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind address and wish your Association all success.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS
OF THE AMRITSAR MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

22nd October 1923.

Gentlemen,—I deeply appreciate the sense of loyalty and courtesy which has prompted you to come to Lahore to present an address of welcome to me. It is a source of regret to me that the time at my disposal does not permit me on this occasion to pay a visit to Amritsar, a city which justly claims on account of historical and religious associations and on grounds of commercial importance to vie with the Capital of your Province itself. I had the good fortune to pay a brief visit to your city immediately after my arrival in India; but I know that Her Excellency, who greatly values your kind references to her work for the women of India, deplores her inability owing to the shortness of our time in the Punjab to visit Amritsar and see your medical, educational and other institutions, and in particular those which are connected with the welfare of girls and women. Nevertheless we are glad to have had this opportunity of meeting the prominent citizens of Amritsar to whom the civic administration of the city is entrusted.

I keep myself in touch with your welfare; and I deeply regret to learn from your address and from information received by me from time to time that the commercial prosperity of Amritsar is suffering from a temporary check. In natural process the economic conditions of the world react on the trade of a large distributing centre such as Amritsar; and you may normally expect that, as the world recovers from the dislocation and disturbance caused by the late War, there will be a revival of prosperity in your city also and the impediments to the free flow of interchange of trade will disappear. I would remind you that, in spite of the paralysis of the War, London is once again the money market of the World; in like manner Amritsar may shortly again become the Emporium of the commerce of Northern India.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address of the Amritsar Municipal Committee.

You have alluded to rifts in the lute of harmony ; I believe your city owes its birth to Guru Rámdás who preached in his time the sound doctrines of brotherhood and humility. These teachings hold truth for you now as in the time of your fore-fathers. Mutual tolerance is, for us all, one of the sovereign specifics for the maladies which from time to time afflict our commonwealth. I rejoice to hear of signs of returning health and trust that normal conditions may soon be restored.

I am much interested to hear of your Municipal activities. Your keen sense of your obligations towards the welfare of your fellow-citizens does you credit. In spite of the financial difficulties to which you refer, I feel assured that you will make substantial progress in your schemes for the improvement of the amenities of your city, because you are imbued with the proper spirit and with the right angle of view towards your responsibilities. I know that your Local Government has deeply appreciated your assistance in the preservation of law and order in Amritsar ; and the value of the work which your Corporation has done for the welfare of its citizens has found recognition in the Knighthood which has recently been conferred by His Majesty the King-Emperor on your energetic and public-spirited non-official President. I have noted your desires for wider powers in Municipal administration. I am informed that the Local Government has under its consideration question regarding increase in scope of Municipal initiative. I am confident that the authority you now possess and any extension of power which may be entrusted to you in future, will, as in the past, be successfully employed for the advancement and well-being of your ancient and important city.

REMARKS ADDRESSED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LAHORE DISTRICT BOARD,
THE LAHORE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE, THE EX-SOLDIERS'
ASSOCIATION, LAHORE DISTRICT, AND THE AMRITSAR
MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE AFTER REPLYING INDIVIDU-
ALLY TO EACH BODY'S ADDRESS.

22nd Octo-
ber 1923.

I cannot part from you to-day without expressing in a few words my pleasure at having received these four addresses to-day. It is specially gratifying to me as representative of the King-Emperor to find loyal addresses of this nature presented by bodies of the standing in the country of the Municipal Committees of Lahore and Amritsar and the District Board of Lahore. Those symbolise the spirit and character of the present administration in the Punjab; and I find special satisfaction in remembering that they are presented to me by persons who are taking an active part in the administration, not always without sacrifice to their popularity or without opposition among certain sections of the community. I was also much touched by the loyalty of the Indian Officers' Association—men who have passed their lives in the services of the King-Emperor and risked themselves for him and who are ready if need be to return to his service.

I will now give a message from myself, at the present time head of the Government in India. Whatever you may hear, whatever you may be told, the British Government in India stands for absolute tolerance in religious matters. It rests on the fundamental rock of respect for religious beliefs and rites. The British administration does not interfere with the exercise of religion, but works to retain its freedom, to allow liberty in carrying out its practice without hindrance or molestation. At the same time it is its duty to preserve the peace if it should be threatened or endangered by disturbances among different sections of the people. Remember the personality of the Governor whom you have at the head of your provincial administration and who guides the officers of

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the High Court Extension at Lahore.

the Government. He is justly respected as one who has the widest human sympathies and who has ever striven to enter into and understand the views of the people of this Province. Let me add that it would be strange if I, the present Viceroy, would ever encourage the persecution or even countenance the restriction of the religious liberties of any community, and especially of a small community. Such course could never be adopted by me of all men. It could never, I may add, come into being under any Viceroy appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

23rd October 1923. HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE HIGH COURT EXTENSION AT LAHORE ON 23RD OCTOBER 1923.

His Excellency the Viceroy attended by His Excellency the Governor, performed the opening ceremony of the extension to the High Court Building at Lahore and in reply to the address of Sir Shadi Lal, the Chief Justice, said :—

Your Excellency, Sir Shadi Lal and Gentlemen,- I thank you Chief Justice, your colleagues and the Members of the Legal Profession for the warm welcome you have extended to me. Sir Shadi Lal, I am grateful to you for the eloquent references to myself as Viceroy and former Lord Chief Justice of England. I would I could attribute to them the value of a judicial pronouncement but sheer modesty compels me to regard your address as the unique occasion when the Chief Justice of the High Court of the Punjab has allowed the zeal of the advocate to disturb the equilibrium of the scales of justice.

You, Chief Justice, have rightly observed that this morning's ceremony is one of special interest for me. I am in a fami-

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the High Court Extension at Lahore.

liar atmosphere. Old associations of the Bench and Bar crowd around me. I see gathered together Members of the profession in which I have spent many years of my life and which will always hold a special attraction for me. I see you, Sir Shadi Lal, in the place you daily occupy to dispense justice. Let me congratulate both the Lahore Bench and Bar on the possession of the eminent lawyer who has been a Judge of the Court for 10 years and its Chief Justice since the 1st May 1920. None will, I am sure, dispute the proposition that he is in every respect a worthy successor of the distinguished Members of the Court whose names shine forth in its annals and that its traditions of justice are safe in his keeping. In this gathering to-day I am among friends. I have been fortunate to make the previous acquaintance of a number of the Judges of the Court. From among the members of the Bar Sir Muhammad Shafi is intimately associated with me as a valued Member of my Executive Council and is the Member in charge of my Law Department. I see also several Members of the Imperial Legislature before me. Both the Ministers of Sir Edward Maclagan's Government also belong to the Lahore Bar ; and apart from its eminent lawyers and politicians, this Bar has the distinction of possessing as a practising Member Sir Mohammad Iqbal the celebrated Urdu and Persian poet.

I wish to associate myself with the Chief Justice in his tribute to His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan and his Government for their assistance in enabling the execution of this addition to the Court buildings, I am privileged to open to-day. The need for suitably housing Courts of Justice is now firmly, if sometimes tardily established in every civilised country as a primary duty of the administration. We, men of the law, are sometimes accused of attaching undue importance to the sanctity and dignity of the law ; I will however justify my contention that the law courts deserve to be properly equipped and housed, by a reference to

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the High Court Extension at Lahore.

that refuge of all lawyers—an authority. In this case I will quote an authority whom none can accuse of sentimentality, of prejudice or of leniency. I turn to a learned Doctor who never minced his words. Doctor Johnson says: "The law is the last result of human wisdom acting on human experience for the good of the public. One of the principal parts of human felicity arises from a wise and impartial administration of justice. Every man reposes in the tribunals of his country, the stability of profession and the serenity of life." He goes on to decry those who by any act or neglect detract from the dignity of the Courts of Justice and describes them as "not only doing an injury to those who dispense the laws, but diminishing the public confidence in the laws themselves and shaking the foundations of public tranquillity". In face of this denunciation I tremble for the temerity of the opinion of those, if they exist, who would lodge the blind lady with the scales in a hovel or a garret.

I would that these wise words might be pondered and taken to heart by those who preach and incite the practice of a non observance of the law who forget that in the law is vested the felicity of their fellow-men, the serenity of life, and the foundation of public tranquillity in India. It is only by respect for the law and with the help of the law's protection that India can advance on the road to a wider realization of herself and to the great place awaiting her in the Empire.

Sir Shadi Lal, you have alluded to the increase of work in the Court and to the new directions in which as a result of the general progress of the Punjab and its new commercial and other activities litigation is expanding. After my arrival in India, when there had been time to make an examination, I was deeply impressed with the delays occurring under the present system in the administration of civil justice and especially in

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the High Court Extension at Lahore.

the recovery of the fruits of a decree by execution. These defects attracted my attention through the complaints of commercial bodies, through observations of the Privy Council in cases coming before them, through conversations with members of the judiciary and the legal profession and through actual instances coming to my notice in the routine of the administration. The flaw seemed to me not due to any want of energy or capacity in the Courts but to the growth of complexity in the system the Courts have to administer. It appeared to me that the ends of justice stood in some danger of being conquered and enslaved by the formalities of the law itself. I need not lay stress on the deplorable results which might follow such a process—it is a stage through which the administration of the law inevitably passes and has passed at different periods in England; in more modern times steps have been taken in England to speed up machinery of too old fashioned a type for present needs and to simplify the technical processes. I felt it my duty to take all possible steps to purge our Indian administration of justice of the reproach of delays which may amount to a denial of justice. The best apparent method was if possible to utilize the experience of an eminent lawyer from England with special knowledge and experience of the methods for acceleration and simplification of civil justice introduced there; and after associating with him a committee of persons from our Courts in India versed in Indian procedure and conditions to subject the problem to expert and scientific examination. After consulting the Secretary of State my Government sought the views of Local Governments regarding this proposal and the suggestion, I am glad to say, has been welcomed by them. In the coming cold weather I hope to set the machinery in motion for the conduct of the enquiry. I feel sure that I may count on the fullest measure of assistance in the enquiry from the Bench and Bar at Lahore.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the High Court Extension at Lahore.

Another matter of special interest to you relates to the Bar in India. In England we have, as you know, a single Bar with one tradition of guidance. In India the Bar has grown up by provinces. Its constitution and practice and the privileges of its component members, the barristers and vakils of each High Court, vary from province to province. The general question of the creation of an Indian Bar attracted considerable interest among the Members of the late Legislative Assembly and was the subject of no less than three private bills and of a number of resolutions and questions. The bills touched on one or two aspects of the case which has issues of a very complicated nature. The Government of India, in view of the general interest in the question, have decided to appoint a representative committee to examine the problems involved and to report on all the features of the case. In consultation with the Secretary of State it has been decided that Sir Edward Chamier should act as Chairman; the names of the Members were announced this morning. All branches of the profession are represented on the Committee which includes Judges of High Courts, Sessions Judges, Barristers, Vakils and Attorneys and has a substantial Indian element. The Committee will assemble next month and commence its enquiry. In parting from you let me assure you that although I no longer sit on the Judicial Bench I have not ceased to administer justice to the best of my ability. As Viceroy more difficult problems come before me for solution. There are no judicial decisions in the books to help me, there are no codes to consult, there are no means of ascertaining facts as in Courts of Law. Although I have severed direct connection with the Courts of Justice I retain, and if possible even in an enhanced degree because of the far-reaching consequences of action, the solemn duty of doing justice to all men.

The Viceroy should hear all aspects of any question, should be ready to listen to grievances, willing to remedy them whenever

His Excellency the Viceroy visited the Agricultural College at Lyallpur where he distributed prizes and made the following speech.

he legitimately can, always regarding with sympathy the difficulties and troubles of the people. In these duties the Viceroy exercises in a wider sphere and with a larger vision some of the duties of a Judge. Equally he should act fearlessly according to the light of his understanding and to the dictates of his conscience.

I thank you again for your very cordial welcome and will now proceed to perform the ceremony in response to your invitation.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY VISITED THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AT LYALLPUR WHERE HE DISTRIBUTED PRIZES AND MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH.

24th October 1923.

Your Excellency, Mr. Principal and Gentlemen,—Let me first thank the Principal for his kind expressions of welcome. I can assure him that it has been a very great pleasure to me to have been able to visit Lyallpur and the Lyallpur Agricultural College. It is almost incredible that within the memory of many who are present in this hall to-day, the place where Lyallpur now stands was a few years ago the centre of a primæval desert void of inhabitants except for a few nomad graziers on its borders, inhospitable and unproductive. Thanks to the skill of the Punjab Irrigation Engineers, the energy of successive Colonisation Officers and the toil of the sturdy Punjab cultivators the face of the country has changed as if by magic ; and the Lower Chenab Colony has become one of the richest tracts in the Punjab. The Lyallpur District where a few years ago the

His Excellency the Viceroy visited the Agricultural College at Lyallpur where he distributed prizes and made the following speech.

desert held its sway has now nearly a million prosperous inhabitants ; and its produce in cotton, wheat and oilseeds is bartered for in the markets of the world. To this prosperity the work of the Punjab Agricultural Department has contributed in no small measure ; and it is eminently fitting that its chief experimental Station and College have been erected here.

I have listened to Mr. Brownlie's address with no common interest. Let me congratulate the officers of the Department on the fine work—in my estimation of incalculable importance for India—they have done in connection with wheat and cotton ; and I desire specially to congratulate Mr. Roberts and Mr. Milne for their valuable work in this connection. Though we all hope that India is on the threshold of extensive industrial development, agriculture must always remain the most important industry of the Punjab. Its climate, its great alluvial plains, its fertilising rivers and its communications with the ports of Karachi and Bombay render it specially fitted for the production of wheat and cotton ; and these are commodities for which, as the world progresses, the demand must be constant and increasing. I cannot lay too much stress on the wonderful opportunity which the Punjab has of producing the special qualities of wheat and cotton required to meet this demand. Their supply constitutes a formidable economic problem for many countries in the world ; but the Punjab is placed in the favourable position of being able to meet its own needs and help to fill the gap in the world's supply also. It is not possible to overestimate the great importance of increased production for India. We are at present passing through a period where unfortunately reduction figures more prominently than production. If India produced more, not only would this increased production bring in its train more wealth and comfort for each individual producer, but indirectly more revenue would accrue to

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the State from railway receipts, from customs duties on imports purchased in the process of the expansion of wealth and in many other indirect ways. Those ill-omened twin stars, retrenchment and taxation, by which the Government in hard times is often forced to steer its course, might in such circumstances sink low on our horizon. I may remark in parenthesis that by retrenchment I mean in this connection not the economical working of the Government machine, but a forced retraction in expenditure on beneficent activities. Judged by these tests the labours of the Punjab Agricultural Department to standardise and popularise wheats which will give a larger outturn per acre of sound milling character and cottons with a longer staple are of inestimable value both to the Government and to the people of the Punjab. I envy the Ministers under the reformed Government who have the beneficent activities of the Agricultural Department in their charge. There can be no subject which offers so congenial and fascinating a field for the improvement of the condition of a Province and its people.

I heartily endorse the observations of Mr. Brownlie regarding agricultural research. It is a most legitimate and worthy object for the benefactions of generous donors. In many parts of the world scientific research of various kinds benefits very materially from trust funds established by private persons. India has instances of such generosity in the Institute of Science at Bangalore. As regards agricultural research, I may draw attention in particular to the great institution at Rothamsted in England, which has done magnificent work for agriculture both in England and other countries and to the foundation and maintenance of which private generosity has so largely contributed. I hope some day to see private individuals in the Punjab also emulate the examples I have quoted ; and help to

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stimulate, for the benefit of their fellow-Punjabis, advance in the premier industry of this Province.

I have been greatly impressed in India with the narrow field of aspirations which bounds the vision of the educated young men of this great country. Too many are prone not to look beyond Government service or the legal profession as the only possible goal of their educational career ; in these vocations there is obviously room for only a limited number ; and the opportunities for an outstanding and successful career are definitely restricted. Yet around them lies a vast country full of natural resources, and with a population as yet largely deprived of the advantages of technical and scientific training ; in every direction there are sources of wealth and production waiting to be explored, waiting to be improved, and ready to yield their secrets to the magic touch of knowledge. In this field it appears to me that the students of this College can play a notable part. They go forth from the College as pioneers of developments of immense potential service to themselves and their Province. They can practise the improved methods of agriculture learnt here and instruct by their example their neighbours who have not had the good fortune to participate in the technical education received by them. Agriculture is a science ; and in agriculture as in other branches of human knowledge no finite stage has yet been reached. Denmark and other countries, which have specialised in agricultural science, have successfully demonstrated the vast and continuous improvements in agriculture which the spread of knowledge can produce and the great increase in wealth which the diffusion of technical methods never fails to achieve. Let me impress these facts on the students of the College and congratulate them on the great opportunities which their education in the Lyallpur Agricultural College has placed in their path.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE STATE
BANQUET AT PATIALA.

27th October 1923.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading were entertained to a State Banquet by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and in proposing the health of His Highness, His Excellency said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank Your Highness very cordially for the warm welcome you have extended to us on the occasion of our visit to your State. I greatly appreciate the kind words Your Highness has used in speaking of me and your references to the difficulties of the Viceroy's task and the manner in which it has been sought to overcome them. I know that Her Excellency also values Your Highness' expressions of interest and appreciation regarding the work for the women of India which she has made the subject of her constant care and solicitude. Her Excellency has already had substantial proof of Your Highness' personal sympathy with her plans of benevolence

I am glad to have had this opportunity of visiting Your Highness in your State for many reasons. I had hopes to have paid this visit at an earlier date, but circumstances arose which prevented my intentions from coming to fruition ; and it is with all the greater pleasure that I now fulfil my deferred hopes. My present visit enables me to renew my friendship with Your Highness in your own home amid your ancestral dignities. Apart from personal grounds, it is also a source of great pleasure to me to come to the capital of the premier State in the Punjab and the leading Sikh State in India, and as Viceroy and Governor-General to demonstrate the interest which I feel in the Patiala State and my appreciation of the happy nature of those relations which have subsisted between this State and the British Government for the past 115 years.

I need not examine the history of those relations, as it is well-known to most of those here present. It found a culminating

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Patiala.

expression in the splendid services of this State and its subjects, and in the personal services of Your Highness in the Great War ; and I congratulate Your Highness on the very eloquent tribute paid to those services by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Patiala during his visit in February two years ago. I need only add that it has been a pleasure and privilege for me to have seen the fine troops which Your Highness maintains and has recently reorganised ; and the excellence of their drill and their soldier-like appearance at this morning's review has recalled most vividly to me the great traditions of steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor which it has been the pride of this State and its Ruler to cherish and display. I know that His Majesty the King-Emperor may count the Ruler of the Patiala State among the most devoted and loyal friends of his House, and that this State may rely on the friendly interest and abiding support of the British Government in all that concerns its welfare.

Your Highness has touched on a painful matter connected with a neighbouring State. I hold Your Highness to be fully justified in explaining your actions and position in the disputes with the Maharaja of Nabha in order that all misapprehensions, or I would rather say, bearing special instances in mind, misrepresentations, may be removed. I have recently publicly explained the action which I and my Government as representatives of the Paramount Power were compelled to take in the case. I have nothing to add to the observations I have made except to express my appreciation of the temperate and constitutional manner in which the Patiala Durbar placed these interstatal disputes before the proper authority, the Representative of the Paramount Power, when they had reached a critical stage, and to say that they had the fullest justification for the course they adopted and acted with great consideration and forbearance.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Patiala.

Your Highness has alluded to many most interesting schemes of development and improvement in the civil administration of Your State under contemplation by your Government ; with the railway scheme I have been privileged to be directly connected by the ceremony performed this afternoon. I cannot too highly commend the steps Your Highness is taking to develop the resources of your State and to increase production. By such schemes, if subjected to careful examination and launched with due regard to financial consideration, not only the revenues of the State but the welfare of your subjects will be substantially increased. The prudent initiative of a Ruler in these directions establishes a claim to fame which lives not only in the successful issue of these schemes in his own time, but for future generations also in the permanent prosperity which they create for the State and its people. I wish Your Highness all success in these projects.

I have been looking forward to enjoying the sport for which Your Highness' State is so justly renowned. I have followed with interest (and I expect Your Highness' interest has not been less than my own) the career of a polo team in England and America of which one of my Staff and two of Your Highness' Staff were Members. If fortune has not on all occasions favoured them, I believe we can at least say that their brilliant play attracted universal attention in both countries ; and they made a name for themselves which will long be remembered in the annals of sport in both countries. I wish that, besides shooting, I could join in the other sports for which Patiala is famous ; but when one passes the age of three score years, one has to be careful, as the saying goes, of one's ps and qs ; and the ps in this case represent for me polo and pigsticking.

I thank Your Highness once again for your hospitality and for all your kindness and thoughtfulness on our behalf. We

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the New Railway Junction at Patiala.

shall take away most pleasant memories of our visit to Patiala. Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now ask you to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

27th Octo-
ber 1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW RAILWAY JUNCTION AT PATIALA.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Countess of Reading paid an official visit to Patiala State in the course of the Autumn Tour. In performing the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the New Railway Junction at Patiala, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,— It is a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of being associated with the inauguration of another of the many beneficent measures which have conduced to the present prosperity of the Patiala State. No one, who looks back over the history of the administration in Your Highness' State, can fail to be impressed by the far-sighted statesmanship of the predecessors of Your Highness. The first project to engage their attention was the ways and means of supplying water to unirrigated areas in the State ; and when it arose, the opportunity of becoming a working partner in the Sirhind Canal project was eagerly accepted ; and later, participation in Sirsa branch of the Western Jumna Canal was judged—and rightly so—to be a project as beneficial to the State as to its subjects.

From irrigation, we pass as a natural corollary to the question of transporting the increased produce of the irrigated lands, and here also it is evident that the same prudent inspiration was the guiding factor in the counsels of Patiala

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the New Railway Junction at Patiala.

administration. The activities of past Rulers of Patiala find their counterpart in the present day in the enlightened policy of Your Highness to which the State owes a comprehensive scheme for a network of railways to assist in the export of the surplus grain and products which the canal system has brought into existence. Parts of this scheme have come into being by the assistance and facilities given by the State to trunk lines passing through the State Territories, among which I may mention in particular the Ràjpura-Bhàtinda line entirely constructed from State revenues. The remainder of the scheme consists in the feeder lines now awaiting construction by the State ; and it is my privilege to-day to mark one more stage on the road of progress mapped out by Your Highness.

It is only fitting that the premier State of the Punjab should be a pioneer in such works of development and progress and should show the way in schemes which add to the prosperity of the State and the welfare of its people ; and I trust that all success will attend the projects, and that they will bring to the State and its people the blessings which Your Highness anticipates.

It is a pleasing complement to Your Highness' scheme that you have resolved to combine it with plans for the improvement of your capital and with an addition to the beauties of the Báráduri Palace Gardens. An increase in amenities and an addition to the picturesque are not, I regret to say, items which we habitually associate with schemes for the development of industry and trade ; too often the latter result in a blot on the landscape without any compensation gain in beauty ; but in your Highness' scheme beauty and utility are to be happily blended ; and you will add some acres to a beautiful garden while you procure, as I hope you will, a revenue of some more lakhs for your State Treasury.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Lucknow Durbar.

I will now respond to Your Highness' invitation and lay the foundation stone of what I trust will be a busy junction and the active centre of a successful feeder railway system for the Patiala State.

29th October 1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LUCKNOW DURBAR.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading paid their first official visit to the United Provinces at the end of October 1923. At a Provincial Durbar held in the Kaiserbagh, Lucknow, on the 29th October 1923. His Excellency made the following speech :—

*Your Excellency and Durbaries,—*Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since a Viceregal Durbar was held at Lucknow during the Viceregency of Lord Curzon. Like my great predecessor I regard these occasions as possessing an importance of their own and as imbued with a special significance. The system by which in a Durbar the Sovereign or his Representative meets the notables and leading men of the community with picturesque ceremonial is hallowed by venerable traditions reaching back to the early days of India. The stately character of the gathering is symbolical of the high sense of duty and obligation inherent in the relation between the head of the administration and the people, while the ceremonial is an echo of the reverence which all good citizens consider due to the Government—whose sacred trust they share and under whose protection the serenity of their lives and the security of their property are assured. Apart from these essential qualities, a Durbar gives the Viceroy an opportunity which could scarcely be achieved by any other method to meet at one and the same time representatives of all classes from all parts of a province, or as in the present case of United Provinces, in a dignified and fitting manner.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Lucknow Durbar.

First of all let me say what a pleasure it is to me to have the opportunity during my present tour of paying a visit to Lucknow and Allahabad, the nerve centres of activity of your historic provinces. I regret that there is an aftermath of suffering and distress caused to the people of Lucknow by the unfortunate recent floods. I trust that the loss and inconvenience have now been mitigated by the measures which the Government and all classes have concerted for the purpose of assistance and relief. Though I have visited outlying portions of these Provinces, I have had to delay my visit to the centres of its Government until the present occasion. In antiquity as British provinces and as points of focus for commerce the United Provinces cannot claim to rival the older maritime Presidencies ; yet apart from these considerations Sir William Marris' charge may well be considered to rank with them among the most important Provinces of India. Marching with our frontier with Tibet, lying midway between the North-Western Provinces of the Punjab and that Frontier on the one hand and what I may term the Bengal Provinces on the other, it occupies a very considerable portion of the north and centre of India. Its people have the characteristics in a large degree of the manly and martial races of the north-west, while much of the province enjoys the fructifying climate and plentiful rainfall which we associate with deltaic Bengal, and which nature has denied to more northerly provinces. Historically the province is connected with the great dynasties which played so large a part in the past in the annals of India. For Hindus the land of the province, with the sacred Ganges flowing through its length and with Hardwar and Benares, the cities of pilgrimage, within its borders, is hallowed soil ; and the Muslim may regard with just pride a province which contains the peerless glories of the Taj and the historic monuments of Akbar and other princes of the great Moghal dynasty. Finally, the province

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Lucknow Durbar.

as a whole may derive satisfaction from the agricultural wealth of its Gangetic plains, from its large estates, from its great cities, from the intellectual activity of its numerous Universities and from its important industrial centres at Cawnpore and elsewhere.

Turning to recent years it is a subject for congratulation that the province has to a large extent recovered its balance after the disturbances of 1921. I am satisfied that more confidence and good sense now exist on every side. It is, however, with deep regret that I have heard of the serious communal disturbances which have recently occurred in several places in the province. It is my earnest prayer that these differences may be composed. I look to you, Gentlemen, the natural leaders of the two communities, to leave no stone unturned to secure a better mutual understanding. With your superior enlightenment and experience and your wider outlook a sacred obligation rests on you to dispel doubts, to soothe embittered feelings with sympathetic advice, to remove causes of friction and to instil mutual tolerance among those who do not possess the advantages you enjoy; and in this task I know you can rely to the fullest measure on the assistance of Sir William Marris and the officers of his Government. The effect of communal dissension is not confined to the suffering and disaster it produces in the area where it is manifested. Its malign influence has a wider import. It stifles all hopes of political progress among the people. It saps the forces of national life, for it tends to deny the existence of a common public weal or of common effort in co-operation for a single purpose.

The term of your first Legislative Council has drawn to a close. It can claim a substantial measure of achievement during this period. Among the several important legislative measures which have been passed I notice as deserving of

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Lucknow Durbar.

special mention the Allahabad University Act, the Act for the control of Secondary Education, the Oudh Rent Act and the District Boards Act. I wish to congratulate the Legislative Council on its good sense and wise judgment in rejecting the proposal for withdrawal from the Empire Exhibition. I know that the province has suffered from financial stringency; and it is greatly to the credit of the administration that with the support of the Legislature it has been able to effect economy by reducing expenditure, while at the same time additional revenue by new taxation has been secured for the beneficent activities of Government. The efficiency of the administration has in this manner suffered no diminution. Meanwhile measures for the improvement of the welfare of the people have not stood still; and among these I may mention that steady progress has been made with the important Sarda Canal scheme, which I understand is the largest project of this nature undertaken in these provinces for many years.

Before I close let me take you back to the year 1899 when the last Viceregal Durbar was held at Lucknow. Dwell with me for a moment on the position of India and her people then and her position now. Then, though the seeds of representative institutions had been sown, India was still under tutelage. Reflect on the great moral, material and political progress which has since been achieved in this short space of time. For years the welfare of India was held in trust by the Crown and its servants. It was their sacred duty to protect her from foreign aggression and internal strife, to establish and maintain a strong and just Government in the land, to improve the condition of her people and educate and uplift her masses. It was the earnest desire of successive British Sovereigns, declared from time to time in solemn proclamations and messages and of this Governments, that the moral and material welfare of the people of India should advance to the end that in due season, in the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Lucknow Durbar.

fulness of time, the people of India might be fitted to share in the blessings of representative institutions. The Act of 1919 has now entrusted the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the administration.

Let me examine for a moment the actual results in their main details. In the Central Government the Governor-General's Executive Council contains three Indian Members in charge of important Departments of the Government. Though the system does not provide for responsibility of the Members to the Legislature, there is a bicameral Indian Legislature representative of the people and vested with definite powers and functions of the highest importance. The Provincial Governments have been given in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India at present compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities. Each Governor has at least one Indian Member of his Executive Council, while his Ministry dealing with transferred subjects is chosen from his Legislative Council, which in turn is elected by the people of the Province. The so-called Imperial Services of India now include a definite proportion of Indian officers; the policy of increasing the association of Indians with every branch of the administration in India has been accepted by His Majesty's Government and is in practice. The High Commissioner for India in London is an Indian; and the Council of the Secretary of State for India at Whitehall contains a substantial Indian element. Turning to spheres outside the administration of India itself, India no longer tarries outside the Councils of the Empire, but her representatives have a seat at the Imperial Conference tables. In the League of Nations also the voice of the representatives of India is heard as representing one of the great Commonwealth of Nations of the British Empire. Gentlemen, the age of tutelage has passed. Its place has been taken by an age of test.

Address by the Oudh Taluqdars.

To India has been granted a wide measure of new liberties, of new opportunities, of new privileges and dignities and of new obligations. Her feet are set on the road which leads to full representative Government and to the high destiny awaiting her in the Empire. May the people of India in co-operation and harmony, without thought of communal or party interests and with true patriotism, work together to make her progress easy along the stages of her journey to her goal.

ADDRESS BY THE OUDH TALUQDARS.

30th Octo-
ber 1923.

An address on behalf of the Oudh Taluqdars, representing the interests of the landed aristocracy and agricultural classes of the province, was read at the Taluqdars fête held in the Kaiserbagh by Raja Sir Rampal Singh. His Excellency the Viceroy in reply said :—

Raja Sir Rampal Singh and Members of the British Indian Association of Oudh.—On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you most warmly for your loyal welcome and for the very kind expressions in which you have referred to us both.

It is a great pleasure to us to have had the opportunity of visiting the renowned capital of Oudh of the splendours of which we have read in many books and have heard at first-hand from your late Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler. The affection of the latter indeed for the province and its chief town could hardly be excelled by the feelings of any resident of Oudh itself. My only regret is that our visit should have been preceded by disastrous floods which have caused damage and distress. I have been gratified to learn of the energy and co-operation of all classes in the relief of sufferings caused by this disaster ; and

Address by the Oudh Taluqdars.

I know that all that is possible will be done under the wise guidance of His Excellency Sir William Marris to prevent a recrudescence of these calamities.

I need scarcely assure you that I esteem it a privilege to meet the Taluqdars who are the representatives of the great landed aristocracy of Oudh and who are justly praised for their unswerving loyalty to the British Government and renowned for the munificence to their support to all public and local causes. Lucknow owes a great debt to their public spirit and liberality ; and many of the beautiful public buildings and useful institutions, which adorn the capital of the Garden of India and are the pride of this city, could not have come into existence without the ungrudging financial assistance cheerfully given by your body. Equally celebrated are the entertainments which you have given to Viceroys and Governors and which have been graced by the presence of Royal personages. In all these matters you are true representatives of a great aristocratic tradition.

You have touched in your address on questions relating to your lands. In the first place, I wish to express my gratification on the passing of the Oudh Rent Act. There is perhaps no subject of legislation which is so complex in character as tenancies and rents or in which the two parties concerned start from such widely divergent angles of view. Your attitude towards that measure was conceived in a spirit of justice, compromise and moderation. Although some of the clauses of the Act must have been distasteful to your body, you acquiesced in the measure with laudable consideration for your tenants, not forgetting the high position in which you have been placed or the fact that wide possessions and narrow minds go ill together. I trust that the new law will be worked in the same spirit ; and that you will always remember the obligations of great landlords, for as His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales,

Address by the Oudh Taluqdars.

himself one of the great landlords of England, reminded you, "on the promotion of the welfare of your tenantry and the people of your Estates, your position, wealth and influence depend". The question of the length of term of land settlements has, I understand, been the subject of a report by a Committee of the Legislative Council of your province and the question is still being considered by your Local Government. I fully realise the importance of a generous land revenue policy; and you may rely on a careful examination of the question by my Government when it is referred to them by your Local Government.

It is right that those, who have so large a stake in the country, should aspire to take a part in guiding its destinies, both in the local Council and the Indian Legislature. I understand that the present position is as follows:—At the first election to the Council of State five prominent landlords were elected from these provinces, of whom two were Taluqdars. In the Legislative Assembly there is one seat reserved for the special class of the combined landlords of Agra and Oudh. In the United Provinces Legislative Council the Taluqdars hold four seats out of six, the remaining two being held by Agra landlords. Some further changes were suggested by your Legislative Council as regards their own composition which are still under consideration. In the Local Government both Ministers are landlords and the Indian Member is a leading Taluqdar. From this review it appears to me that the landlord class in these provinces have a unique opportunity of sharing in the direction of public affairs as the natural leaders of agricultural interests; by agricultural interests I mean not only the interests of the landlords but the interests of the masses engaged throughout this country in India's chief industry; and my advice to them is to make the fullest use of these opportunities. You may in turn rely on the Government to pay due respect to old

Address by the members of the ex-Royal Family of Oudh.

established rights and privileges and ever to take a warm interest in the welfare of the agricultural classes of India whose past services and importance to the country are fully realised.

I am not sure that I have been able to apprehend the precise bearing of your reference to the Arms Act. Certain exemptions in your favour are contained in the provisions of that Act which leaves to the Local Government latitude to fix details regarding the exemptions. If your Association have any grievance in the matter, you will no doubt submit your representations to the Local Government.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and your warm welcome. It has given me great pleasure to have met the members of your Association.

31st Octo-
ber 1923.

ADDRESS BY THE MEMBERS OF THE *ex-ROYAL FAMILY*
OF OUDH.

A deputation of the members of the Oudh *ex-Royal Family Association* proceeded to Government House, Lucknow, to present an address of welcome to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading. The address was read by Mirza Murtaza Husain Khan, the Honorary Secretary of the Association.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply said : --

Mirza Sahib and Gentlemen, --I am grateful to you for your address and the kind welcome which you have extended to Her Excellency and to me. I am gratified to have had this opportunity of meeting the members of the ancient and distinguished family which once ruled in Oudh.

I deeply appreciate your expressions of loyalty and of confidence in the justice of the Government. These sentiments do

Address by the members of the ex-Royal Family of Oudh.

you credit, and are in keeping with the old traditions of your House. You may look to the head of the Government in the future as in the past to regard with sympathy the fortunes of the members of your family and to grant them reasonable assistance in all difficulties which may afflict them. I am gratified to hear of your solicitude in the cause of education of the younger members of the family. It is but right and fitting that the members of this ancient family should receive an education which will enable them to occupy positions of respect and responsibility in the general community. In this manner the name and importance of your family will be preserved ; and you may for future generations rest secure in the possession of the esteem and respect of your fellow-men. It is a source of satisfaction to me that Government has been able to assist in the education of the family and that some of your young men have been selected for service under the Government. I know that Sir William Marris and his Government will keep a watchful eye on the interests of a family which has the most intimate associations with the past history of the province.

I thank you once more for your welcome. One of the interesting memories, which we shall take away from Lucknow, will be of our meeting of to-day with the representatives of the *ex-Royal* family of the former Kingdom of Oudh.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ALLAHABAD
HIGH COURT.

1st Nov-
ember
1923.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading paid a visit to the High Court at Allahabad where they were met by

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Allahabad High Court.

Sir Grimwood Mears, Chief Justice, and the Judges of the High Court, and taken in procession to the Chief Justice's Court. Here Sir Grimwood Mears presented an address to which His Excellency replied as follows :—

Sir Grimwood Mears and Gentlemen,—I esteem it a privilege to have had this opportunity to-day of meeting the members of the Bench and Bar of the High Court at Allahabad.

I thank Sir Grimwood Mears most warmly for his too kind references to my past connection with the legal profession and to the opportunities for work in wider spheres which have been vouchsafed to me and in which I have striven to the best of my ability to render service to the Empire.

Vivid and pleasurable recollections of my association in the past with the Bench and Bar will always dwell with me ; and chief among these are precious memories of the able and distinguished men with whom I have been privileged to work in the profession or with whom my work has brought me into contact. Among them I place Sir Grimwood Mears now presiding over this Court as your Chief Justice ; and in meeting him here I not only renew a friendship of long standing in the legal profession in England but also find myself once more with one who rendered eminent services in many directions to His Majesty's Government after the outbreak of war. In a mission I undertook from Great Britain to the United States of the highest importance to the Empire Sir Grimwood Mears was of great assistance to me and I especially valued the benefit of his wide knowledge of affairs and zealous devotion to our interests. I am glad to meet him here in the high and dignified position of Chief Justice and to know that he has already established his reputation not only as a lucid interpreter of law and justice but also as an efficient administrator of the Courts.

Address of welcome from the Allahabad High Court.

Fifty seven years ago this High Court, established by Letters Patent issued under the Royal Sign Manual, began its existence at Agra as the High Court of Judicature of the North-West Provinces. It moved to this city three years later. Since its inauguration it has represented a fundamental principle of the British Empire, the greatest tradition of British rule—the administration of justice.

In Hindu eyes the place in which this city of Allahabad has been built, is sanctified as the meeting place of the two sacred rivers of this Province ; and this conjunction holds its allegory ; as the stream of the combined rivers is in the belief of the Hindu faith efficacious to cleanse from fault or stain, so also should the flow of justice be potent to remove from humanity the suffering caused by wrong.

The Courts exist not only to administer the laws but also to administer justice. Justice in its turn demands knowledge and impartiality. In knowledge I include not only that of the scientific rules framed for the administration of justice, but clarity of exposition for the guidance of others and for the proper comprehension of the law : Justice makes no discrimination between the strong and the weak or between the rich and the poor : Justice must be blind to extraneous considerations, but nevertheless it must see far into the minds and motives of mankind : while justice must preserve an unbiassed mind and should guard against the danger of sympathy unduly depressing or elevating the scales, none the less it should have full understanding of the temptations, fears and suspicions of the poor and weak and should pay due regard to human frailty in arriving at its conclusions. At the same time justice should be swift in its operation and must not tarry in its course.

In its result, justice should redress the wrong : It should punish the evil doer : It should deter the potential criminal.

Address of welcome from the University of Allahabad.

It should command at one and the same time men's respect and their fear: It should preserve the sanctity of contract and the rights of property. It should stand forth as the jealous guardian of liberty and the protector of life; it should be the haven of the law-abiding citizen and the rock on which the good government of a country has its foundation.

These are the ideals which the Courts in India, as well as in England, have always kept in view. These principles are the basis of the traditions of the legal profession. For these its members, both Bench and Bar, have steadfastly striven in the past. Lawyers are to-day as hitherto proud of their association with the Courts. The daily contact evolves in the individual a high standard of justice. The practice of the profession produces an almost passionate desire for justice whose virtue, as Aristotle has said, lies in moderation regulated by wisdom. The members of the profession are, I know, fully mindful of the great responsibilities of their calling, and I am convinced that they will in no way relax their efforts to maintain unsullied the great name of their honourable profession. In adding lustre to its purity lies their highest vocation and in increase to its dignity rests their truest reward.

2nd November 1923 HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD.

His Excellency the Viceroy was the recipient of an enthusiastic welcome from the students of Allahabad when he paid a visit this morning to the University. Congress and Khilafat workers for the past week had endeavoured to get them to boycott His Excellency's visit, but once again it was clearly demonstrated that these attempts were futile, for when His Excellency entered the Senate Hall this morning accompanied by His Excellency the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor and the Teaching Staff, over a thousand students who were gathered in the great hall gave him a vociferous welcome.

Address of welcome from the University of Allahabad.

His Excellency, on arrival at the hall, first inspected a guard-of-honour of the University Training Corps under the command of Captain E. N. Ryder, D. C. M., M.B.E. (The Queen's Bays) and Lieutenant Jardine, and after the presentation of the various officials connected with the University, he proceeded in procession to the Hall. On his taking his seat His Excellency the Chancellor, Sir William Marris, presented an address to which His Excellency the Viceroy replied in the following terms :—

Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Members of the Teaching Staff and Students of the University of Allahabad,— I thank you most sincerely for your friendly greetings. I have been eagerly looking forward to this informal visit. The many preoccupations of my official duties militate against as frequent intercourse as I could wish with the centres of higher education in India ; and I welcome all the more warmly my occasional opportunities for visits to our great Indian Universities. Your University, while it is the youngest of the residential and teaching type in the province, is the oldest affiliating University in Northern India. It is (shall I say like India itself ?) passing through a period of transition : and it has to face the difficulties and perplexities common to such periods. Fortified by its past traditions however, I am confident, that its achievements in the future will more than echo the traditions of its past ; and that as the years go on, it will continue to send forth young men fully equipped as citizens of no mean Empire, inspired by the highest ideals of the East and West and ready to take their part in the advancement of the great province and in the progress of India.

You are fortunate in the wide scholarship of your Chancellor. The clear intellect and delicate taste of Sir William Marris, which ranges from the most intimate appreciation of the Latin poets to the subtleties of political science and constitutional structures, is too well known to need a meed of praise from me. I trust that these qualities of mind may always pervade your University ; that there may flourish here the

Address of welcome from the University of Allahabad.

flowers of intellectual integrity ; that your studies may bear as fruit an earnest desire to seek the truth and adhere to it, and that balanced judgment and tolerance of opinion may be upheld as the standards of your University culture. No mental characteristics can serve India in better stead at a period when the new ideals of responsible Government are being implanted in the East from the West.

In the Arabic introduction to an oriental classic, I once read a phrase which seems to me to have a bearing on the real secret of University influence and teaching. It was an introductory invocation to the Supreme Being and was expressed in the following words :—" All thanks be to that Being who in the sea of erudition concealed the pearl of meaning." It is to the ideal University that we must look for the secret to find that pearl. Learning and knowledge can be had at all Universities. The diffusion of the waters of the fountain of knowledge is but part of their ordinary routine ; but the glory of a University rests in the gift of the secret power to find the pearl, to endow its alumni with wisdom, to give them that intimate perception which will enable them to harmonise the sense of history and tradition with that of progress and free intellectual activity. Without this secret the contact of the learning and ideas of the West with the ancient culture of the East may but cause remorse and disappointment.

I thank you again for your warm welcome. I am gratified that I have had an opportunity of meeting you at the University to-day.

" His Excellency ended his speech with words of appreciation of the part played by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference and of the tact and sound arguments which he has brought to bear on his task. His Excellency also added a few special words of encouragement to the students of the University."

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UDAIPUR
STATE BANQUET.

10th Nov-
embe
1923.r

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading were entertained by His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur to a State Banquet during their official visit to the State of Udaipur. In reply to the speech of His Highness, His Excellency said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*On behalf of Lady Reading and myself I thank Your Highness very cordially for the warm terms in which you have proposed our health, and for the very kind references you have made to Her Excellency and myself. I wish to express to Your Highness our very deep gratitude for the kind hospitality you are extending to us on the occasion of our first visit to Udaipur. Your Highness' solicitude has provided for our entertainment every item which your thoughtful care could suggest as likely to add to the sum total of our comfort, interest and pleasure while we are in your State.

When Your Highness' invitation to visit Udaipur reached me through the Maharaj-Kumar in Simla in May last, I accepted with pleasure ; and it is with pleasure that I have been looking forward to renewing in the homes of your ancestors the acquaintance formed with Your Highness two years ago at Delhi. In addition to these personal considerations I welcome the visit also as an opportunity for me, the representative in India of His Majesty the King-Emperor, to show that the friendly relations of long standing between His Majesty's Government in India and the Maharanas of Udaipur subsist and flourish in all their pristine vigour. I will convey Your Highness' message of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

I am gratified to find that the years which have elapsed since I last saw Your Highness have not robbed you of your due measure of health and activity ; at Your Highness' time of life I attribute this happy circumstance to your well-ordered and

State Banquet at Udaipur.

abstemious life. Your Highness is well-known to have set in this direction a shining example to the nobles and people of your State. May vigour and good health be long your portion ; and may you for many years be able to engage in and enjoy the traditional sport and recreations of the Rajput Princes. I hope to have the pleasure shortly of joining Your Highness in these healthful and pleasurable relaxations at Jaisamand.

Until the end of August, I had hoped that our visit to Udaipur would be made in a year of plentiful and well-distributed rainfall when the country-side in Your Highness' beautiful State would offer a fair and smiling prospect and its radiance would be reflected in the content of your subjects to whom a good harvest means so much ; but I have been grieved to hear that the monsoon came to a premature close, and that the crops are only likely to yield half the promise they at one time offered. I sympathise with Your Highness' subjects in their disappointment.

I have been glad to learn of many improvements carried out in the administration of your State and of many beneficial projects in contemplation to add to the happiness and prosperity of its people. I congratulate Your Highness upon them and also the Maharaj-Kumar on the part he has played in their inauguration. The name of Your Highness' house in ancient days stood unrivalled for its renown in the arts of war. It is my prayer that in this modern age also it may shine with even greater lustre by reason of the prestige won by the arts of peace and good government.

Realisation most often in human experience falls short of anticipation. We came to Udaipur with the most pleasurable anticipations. Its beauties were far famed : many books of travel and history had chronicled them ; they had been enshrined in many works on art and architecture ; their praises

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

had been sung by all who had the fortune of beholding them ; and now we have found on our arrival at Udaipur that in this case we are not destined to be disappointed ; for, as we viewed your fair Capital, embellished by the taste of its successive rulers, set among the sunlit hills and mirrored in the waters of the lake, we could only feel that here was a beauty to which no description could do justice and of the reality of which every anticipation must fall short. Our memories of Udaipur will live long with us.

Speaking in Rajputana—in the home of their renown—it is unnecessary for me to recall the deeds of your ancestors ; and I have not dwelt upon them. All here to-night have heard of the heroism and devotion which have made Mewar famous throughout and beyond India ; and we look forward a few days hence to visiting the great fortress of Chitor, the scene of unparalleled deeds of chivalry and self-sacrifice. Generations to come in Mewar may well turn to the rugged hill on which that fortress stands and learn the lessons which its monuments recall. Devotion to King and country is now, as in the old days, the watch-word which they bring to mind. Co-operation, effort and sacrifice for the peace and prosperity of this State and its people is the path to which they point.

Your Highness, let me once more express our deep gratitude for your hospitality and assure you of our appreciation of your thoughtful kindness. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking the health of our distinguished host, His Highness Maharana Sir Fateh Singhji Bahadur of Udaipur.

STATE BANQUET AT HYDERABAD.

At a State Banquet held at the Char Mahalla Palace, Hyderabad, on the 23rd November in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to that State His

23rd Nov-
ember
1923.

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows to the toast proposed by His Exalted Highness the Nizam :—

Your Exalted Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Exalted Highness most sincerely for the graceful terms in which you have proposed our health and for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our visit to Hyderabad, the premier State in India. You have been good enough to allude in most appreciative terms to myself and to what I have been able to accomplish for India both in and out of India. You have spoken of the common interests and common ideals which unite the Ruler of this State to the British Government as their faithful ally. I value Your Exalted Highness' words; for your wide responsibilities as a Ruler of more than 12 million people and the traditions of your State of association with the British in the past in the preservation of peace in the Deccan and in support of the British Empire in the recent Great War give Your Exalted Highness a just perception both of the magnitude and difficulties of my task as Viceroy and Governor-General and enable you fitly to apprise the great destiny which awaits India and to which I seek to lead her.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales as Representative of His Majesty recently paid a well-deserved tribute to the great services rendered by Your Exalted Highness' State in the War. These have been already so fully acknowledged that they now form an important part of the history of the co-operation of India with the British Empire during that critical period.

It is not only in time of war that the Indian States have their lot and part in India as a whole. On her general prosperity and contentment, as Your Exalted Highness observed, depends their well-being. As she advances and prospers, as she gains

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

in importance in the Empire, as she attains a loftier place in Imperial Councils and a higher degree of respect in the eyes of the nations of the world, in such measure is there likewise increase in the position of the Indian States which form so important a part in her entity. In British India my Government is striving to give India a wider field of self-expression, to use for her advancement the best that is in her, and by extending the association of Indians with the administration and with the representation of her interests in the Empire to help her on to the goal which all who love her would see her reach. It is for this reason, among others, that specially I value my visits to Indian States. I wish to associate the States and their Rulers in these ideals and let them share in my hopes and aspirations. I regard it as important to keep them well-informed of the movements which are tending to India's progress and advance. For the great place which awaits her in the Empire should be filled by a United India, by India as a whole.

I felicitate Your Exalted Highness on the expansion of the machinery of your Executive Government which I trust will conduce, as you anticipate, to the efficient working of the administration and continue to deserve the confidence both of Your Exalted Highness and of your subjects. I have heard with great interest of the activities of the Government of Your Exalted Highness in many directions calculated to benefit your State and to enhance the well-being of your subjects. The progress in irrigation works and in railway development, which are calculated to bring increase of revenue to the State while improving the lot of its cultivators, must be a source of especial gratification to Your Exalted Highness. In no direction has expansion been so remarkable as in the case of education. I hope that the rapid expansion of educational facilities in your State will find its reward in the quickening of mind and character in the rising generation. For in the

Address of welcome presented by the Bangalore City Municipal Council.

development of the general level of intelligence among the people the hopes of future progress in the State are bound up. All who study Indian Educational problems will watch with interest, the scheme inaugurated by Your Exalted Highness, in the Osmania University for teaching up to the highest standard through the medium of Urdu. Her Excellency, I know, will be much interested in the hospital scheme which is nearing completion after an expenditure of nearly 19 lakhs of rupees. It is greatly to the credit of the administration that so many works and projects of the highest importance have been successfully brought to fruition in a period of financial depression ; and that in spite of bad seasons the soundness of the financial position has nevertheless been maintained.

I thank Your Exalted Highness once more for the cordial welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself and for your princely hospitality, of which we shall cherish the memory. Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking prosperity to the Hyderabad State and health and good fortune to our illustrious host His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the faithful Ally of the British Government.

27th November
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE
ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE BANGALORE CITY MUNI-
CIPAL COUNCIL.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading visited Bangalore in the course of their Autumn Tour. On the morning of their arrival His Excellency received an address of welcome from the Bangalore City Municipal Council to which he replied in the following terms :—

Mr. President and Members of the Bangalore City Municipal Council,—I thank you on behalf of Her Excellency and

Address of welcome presented by the Bangalore City Municipal Council.
myself most cordially for your warm welcome to Bangalore. It is a great pleasure to us to have this opportunity of visiting your historic city which dates from 1537 A. D.

Modern Bangalore owes a great debt to the farseeing founder who planted the nucleus of the flourishing city of to-day nearly 400 years ago amid these salubrious uplands and in proximity to a good water-supply. Its popularity, as a residential centre, has survived the troublous vicissitudes of the disturbed period at the close of the eighteenth century; and the destiny foretold by the founder for his city has been more than fulfilled. It has expanded in modern times as an important city of the Mysore State up to the full extent of the original boundaries which the ambition of its founder set for it. It can vie with the great towns of India both in numbers of population and in manufacturing and commercial activity. Owing to the initiative of its Council and the sympathetic and generous policy of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore it is able to display fine public buildings and amenities which may well be the envy of other less fortunate towns. I wish your Council all success in the execution of your responsibilities for the maintenance and improvement of the civic trust committed to your charge. You have a magnificent field for your labours; and I know that His Highness the Maharaja's Government take a warm interest and just pride in the efficiency and achievements of the Municipal administration of your city.

I thank you again for your kind address and message of welcome. I am confident that our visit to Bangalore will be full of interest and pleasant experiences.

27th November
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS
OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE OF THE
CIVIL AND MILITARY STATION OF BANGALORE.

*Gentlemen,—*On behalf of Lady Reading and myself I thank you very warmly for the kind welcome you have given us on the occasion of our first visit to Bangalore. Bangalore is unfortunately at a considerable distance from the headquarters of the Government of India ; and the many preoccupations of the Viceroy and Governor-General militate against frequent journeys so far afield. It is therefore a source of special pleasure and interest to us to have this opportunity of visiting this important town and cantonment in Southern India.

Your address gives ample proof of the very laudable interest which the Municipal Commission of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore takes in the welfare of its charge. Your desire to see the Civil and Military Station thoroughly equipped with all the necessities and amenities of an up-to-date and sanitary town and to carry out town improvements in the poorer quarters without throwing an undue burden on the tax-payer is greatly to your credit ; and I am looking forward during my visit to inspecting personally the works which you have carried out and to studying the problemus for which you have solutions under your consideration. I am particularly interested in your plan for improving the conditions under which the labouring and poorer class families live ; and I know that this side of your work will make a very special appeal to Her Excellency also. As regards a sufficient and pure water-supply, that primary necessity of all populous areas—more especially in India, I understand that the question of improvement in supply has been subjected to a careful examination by the Resident with the assistance of a conference of experts and a definite scheme offering every prospect of satisfactory results has been evolved. This project will,

Address of welcome from the Municipal Committee of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore.

I am informed, be shortly put in hand. Consideration of finance may, as unfortunately is often the case, delay its immediate execution ; but there is good hope of making substantial progress ; and the great expansion of the general revenues of the tract will no doubt assist in its consummation.

You have referred to the reformed constitution in British India and to your desire to have some share in the reform scheme. I find that you made observations on this subject to my predecessor also in 1919. Aspirations to share in the responsibility for administration and for representation always command my respect. You must, however, remember that in your case your suggestion is hedged about with difficulties arising out of the history and special conditions of the assigned tract. This tract, you are aware, is not British India, but is a portion of an Indian State assigned to the Government of India to be held and administered as a military station. The permanent status of the tract is that of an integral part of the Mysore State, though for a special reason the administration of this portion of State territory is carried on by a Resident responsible to the Government of India. The tract for this reason has no parallel with either Ajmer-Merwara or Delhi, which, though also administered by the Government of India like Bangalore, are portions of British India. As far as purely local interests are concerned, the Government of India have been able to put into effect in Bangalore the principle of representation and you have an elected non-official majority on the Municipal Commission ; but from what I have said you will understand that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of granting representation in the Legislative Assembly to a small tract which is not a portion of British India. As regards the establishment of a local Advisory Committee some of the difficulties to which I have alluded do not exist ; but there are

Address of welcome from the Mysore City Municipal Council.

constitutional objections of another kind. If a Committee of this kind is merely an informal body for the purpose of discussion, it is necessarily of an unsatisfying and infructuous nature. We have explored its possibilities elsewhere and have been obliged to reject it in several instances; and before I could make any promise of sympathetic consideration for such a scheme in Bangalore, the proposal would require a full examination in its legal, constitutional and practical aspects.

I am gratified to hear the satisfaction which you express in the machinery for the administration of Law and Justice. As regards education, I appreciate your solicitude. I congratulate you on your efforts to improve educational facilities and on your policy as regards primary education. The step forward in higher education which has taken place by the recent expansion of the existing second grade College is in itself a satisfactory advance; but I realise that with a large number of High Schools and an increasing number of students turning their thoughts towards higher education facilities for University education are a necessity calling for careful thought and action on the part of the local authorities.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your warm welcome. I feel sure we shall carry away most pleasurable memories from Bangalore.

29th Nov-
ember
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO
AN ADDRESS BY THE MYSORE CITY MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

On arrival of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading with their staff at the Mysore Railway Station, they were received by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and a salute of 31 guns was fired. His Excellency received an address of welcome from the City Council

Address of welcome from the Mysore City Municipal Council.

at Curzon Park. The address was enclosed in a casket of fine workmanship, and design illustrating local scenery. Replying to the address His Excellency said :—

Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful for the kind welcome which you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to the capital city of the Mysore State. We have for a long time cherished a desire to visit Mysore ; and I am confident that our anticipations will be more than fulfilled, and that we shall take away most pleasant recollections of the State, of its capital and of its people.

Your expressions of loyalty to your Ruler are eminently fitting. You justly appreciate a Ruling House whose successive Princes have adopted an enlightened and sympathetic policy in their administration and who have made it their first care to educate and uplift their people and to strive to fit them to share in the responsibilities and activities of their government. I know full well how closely His Highness the Maharaja cherishes the welfare of his subjects and watches over their progress. Happy indeed are those dynasties which are established on the firm foundations of the gratitude and affection of their subjects and who draw unfailing strength from the sure source of association of their people with their government.

Your city has been fortunate in the personal pride which His Highness has always taken in its improvement. I have heard with great interest of the well-ordered schemes for amelioration in the amenities of the city, in its sanitation and in the housing of the poorer classes which have been carried out from year to year without intermission since 1903. I do not think that any other City Improvement Trust in India has had the opportunity, which has been afforded to you by the never-flagging interest of the Mysore administration in

Mysore Banquet speech.

your Trust Board, of executing without break or hindrance and without interruption for the last 20 years a continuous programme of beneficent schemes of material improvement in the city ; and you may take just pride in the results, in the comfort and convenience which you have provided for the residents of your city and in the beautiful gardens and parks with which you have surrounded them. These pleasant features stand as a testimony for all time both to the energy and skill of those directly connected with their execution and to the wisdom of the administration under whose auspices they came into being.

Gentlemen. I thank you again for your kind welcome and wish your City Municipal Council all success.

29th Nov-
ember
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE MYSORE STATE BANQUET.

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore gave a banquet in honour of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading on 29th November 1923.

In reply to His Highness the Maharaja's speech proposing His Excellency the Viceroy's health, His Excellency delivered the following speech :-

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen, - I thank Your Highness most cordially for the very warm welcome you have extended both on your own behalf and on behalf of your subjects to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to the Mysore State.

Your Highness has alluded to me in most generous terms ; I greatly value your kind expressions and felicitations coming as they do from one whose personal character and achievements I hold in high regard. Your Highness' words have a special

Mysore Banquet speech.

meaning for me, for they reveal the understanding sympathy of a Ruler, set at the head of an important State, who has an intimate knowledge of the doubts and difficulties confronting administrators. These difficulties have never deterred you in your task. You have never hesitated to resolve doubts so that you might remove them from your path in the execution of your responsibilities ; and above all I prize words of appreciation from Your Highness because you have always made efficiency in your Government your watchword and viewed the interests of your people as the key-stone of your administration.

Her Excellency, I know, values your special reference to her and to her work for the women and children of India. If she has been able to make progress with her beneficent schemes, her success is largely due to the warm-hearted sympathy and practical support she has received from Your Highness and others who share your views on the ultimate importance to India of her work.

I need not assure Your Highness that we have been eagerly looking forward to our visit to Mysore. It is a great pleasure to me to renew my acquaintance with Your Highness in your own State. It is of happy augury that my visit is paid shortly after the inception by Your Highness of a great constitutional change in your State. Your Highness has for long wisely pursued the policy of associating the people of your State in the work of the administration. It must be most gratifying to Your Highness to find that the confidence which you have reposed in your subjects has been fully justified and repaid ; and that you have now been enabled to take another step forward in the path of constitutional reform. I need not refer in detail to the new charter which was so recently the subject of a proclamation by Your Highness ; suffice it to say that it operates to extend the franchise to an Electorate

Mysore Banquet speech.

about four times as large as the previous Electorate, to remove sex disqualifications and to invest the legislative bodies with substantial powers as regards financial and legislative functions. In many respects the structure follows the lines which have been set up in British India. I congratulate Your Highness' subjects on the larger opportunities for service which are now placed before them. I am confident that they will use their new powers and discharge these graver responsibilities with an undeviating loyalty to their Maharaja and to the best interests of the Mysore State. Your Highness has been untiring in your efforts to fit your people for this measure of participation in your Government and in your task you have had the able support of the Mysore Civil Service. May your reward rest, and you can have no higher reward than this, the highest of all, in the love and veneration of your subjects and in their increased prosperity and contentment.

I sympathise with the difficulties which financial stringency has caused for your administration. The courageous steps taken by Your Highness' Ministers for the restoration of financial equilibrium are a source of satisfaction ; and I trust that you may soon be free from the graver features of your recent perplexities. You may look to my Government for a sympathetic consideration of any proposals you put forward in difficult periods of this nature. My Government may not always be able to help you ; but we shall always be ready to look into your proposals, keeping in mind the sound traditions of administration prevailing in Mysore and the past achievements of the State in the development of its resources and the expansion of natural production.

In this connection I have some information to give you which will be of interest. My Government has been in communication with the Secretary of State regarding the use of the

Mysore Banquet speech.

Railway Debenture Sinking Fund for capital outlay in productive work. Definite suggestions are now under our consideration and Your Highness' Durbar will receive intimation very shortly which I trust may be favourable in principle even although there may not be complete acceptance of your views.

When I last saw Your Highness you made representations to me about a reduction in the Mysore Subsidy. This reduction, which I know Your Highness has much at heart has been under discussion for some time past. Although the Government of India and Secretary of State have been unable to accept the request of the Mysore Durbar in its entirety, I am glad to be able to inform Your Highness that it is now open to your Government to claim some reduction in the amount of the subsidy annually payable. The system is connected with the scheme for the reorganisation of the State forces, which Your Highness has under consideration. The gist of the decision is as follows :—When a State paying tribute for protection maintains troops of undoubted efficiency for Imperial defence and spends on those troops a sum which in addition to the tribute or subsidy amounts to over 15 per cent. of the gross revenues of the State, such excess will be regarded as giving a claim for a *pro tanto* remission of subsidy according to the circumstances of each case. This principle will apply to the Mysore Subsidy and when your scheme for the reorganisation of the State troops is in effect, it will, I anticipate, materially benefit the revenues of your State.

As regards the question of the use of the surplus revenue of the assigned tracts, I am glad to find that definite proposals, approved of by Your Highness' Government, have been sent forward to my Government by the Resident. I trust that this problem will shortly be solved in a manner agreeable both

*Address presented by the Coorg Land-holders' Associations at Mysore.
to the interests of Your Highness' State and to my Govern-
ment.*

I know the importance of the waters of the Cauvery River in the schemes for development of Your Highness' State and the difficulties of adjusting shares in the supply which have been felt for many years past. I am gratified to learn that the recent conference between the Chief Engineers of the Madras Government and the Mysore Durbar has resulted in an agreement between the technical advisers of the two parties concerned. I trust that all differences of opinion may now be composed to the mutual advantage of both administrations, and that both Madras and Mysore will be enabled to make substantial progress with the beneficent schemes they have under contemplation.

I thank Your Highness once more for the splendid welcome we have received in Your Highness' State. Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking long life and prosperity to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

30th Nov-
ember
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS
PRESENTED BY THE COORG LAND-HOLDERS' ASSOCIA-
TION AT MYSORE.

Gentlemen,—I am gratified to have had this opportunity of meeting you and thank you most warmly for your address and for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself.

It was my hope to have found time to pay a visit to Coorg and to have had the pleasure of taking part in the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of your new Legislative Council; but my engagements in Southern India

Address presented by the Coorg Land-holders' Association at Mysore.

are numerous and my time is restricted, and I have been obliged, though with great reluctance, to abandon my idea.

Nevertheless you may rest assured that Coorg and its people hold a very special interest for me, and that I am conscious that the ties, which connect them with my Government, are of a very special nature. Coorg is a small country, but it has a great history behind it. Its people were allies of the British Government for nearly 50 years before their country, at their own request, was taken over by the British. They rendered valuable assistance in the Wars with Hyder Ali and Tipu. Their support was freely given in the suppression of the rising in South Canara in 1836 ; and at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny they rallied *en masse* to the help of the British Government. These fine traditions found their echo in their record in the recent great War ; and even now when war is over, by raising a territorial battalion and by keenness in enlisting they continue to foster and preserve their ideals of loyalty and service. These annals establish a record in which Coorg, though smaller in area and population than the average British district, may well take pride as a province. Its people, as my Government have always recognised, have their own racial, linguistic, and social characteristics and a distinct and well-marked individuality of their own ; and it was on these grounds that they were selected for integrity as a unit of our administration ; and in view of these considerations, in spite of the comparative minuteness of the area and population involved, the Government of India decided to establish a separate Legislative Council in Coorg.

I earnestly hope that the new Council will fully justify its creation, and that the people in Coorg will find in it reasonable opportunities for public life and political expansion. My Government, you may be confident, will watch its activities

Address presented by the Coorg Land-holders' Association at Mysore.

with sympathy ; I trust that in due time these may develop into more extended participation in the work of administration.

You have alluded to your desires for representation in the Imperial Legislature. Some of the smaller administrative units, it is true, such as Delhi, have elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly, but these have no provincial Legislative Council. You have the latter privilege and not the former ; and I think that on reflection it will be clear to you that in view of the numerical restrictions of your electorate you can hardly at the present time expect a larger share in representative institutions than that which has been vouchsafed to you in your local Provincial Council. My Government has always paid special consideration to your circumstances ; and although strict logic of calculation would warrant a regular contribution from your revenues to the Central Government, yet, in view of the smallness of your revenues and expenditure, this has been waived ; and you pay no charge of this nature except part of the cost of the Resident of Mysore and his establishment for work connected with his office as the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. If it is found necessary to send forward at any time any proposals relating to the financial stability of the province, you may rely on their careful examination at the hands of my Government.

As regards the special tenures referred to by you, I understand that there has been no breach of the very material concession of assessment at half the ordinary rates which is the essence of this special system. The question has been carefully considered by the Government of India on several occasions ; and it has been decided that the sanads confirm the special grant of tenure at a rate which is light as compared with that of other ryots, but do not substantiate any claim to permanent assessment ; while these lands have a privileged rate of assessment

Address presented by the Srirangam Municipal Council.

no new facts or circumstances have been advanced to show that they are not liable to periodical reassessment with other lands. I have heard with regret of the damage done in some parts of the province by excessive rainfall. I believe that whatever measures it was possible in the circumstances to devise for the relief of distress have been put into effect. My Government made a special grant for agricultural advances to meet the situation.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and wish your province all future prosperity.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE SRIRANGAM MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

7th December
1993.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented to him by the Srirangam Municipal Council :—

Gentlemen, I thank you for your warm greetings. It is a great interest to me to have this opportunity of visiting this ancient town with its historical edifices and its wealth of religious Associations. Though the time at my disposal is short, I would have been most reluctant to omit a visit to this centre of pilgrimage, so sacred in the Hindu belief, from my itinerary in Southern India.

I trust that measures may be devised to deal successfully with the problems of drainage and water supply to which you refer. I understand that proposals are under the consideration of your Local Government ; and I am confident that they will receive most careful examination in view of the importance of your town as a pilgrim centre.

*Joint Address presented by the Municipal Council and District Board,
Trichinopoly.*

As I have informed those who addressed me to-day at Trichinopoly I hope to make a full statement at Madras of the policy of my Government as regards railway development and new construction—more particularly as affecting the north and the south of this Presidency. There is no subject to which I attach a greater importance; and I hope you will find grounds for satisfaction in the observations I shall then make.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I know that I shall take away most pleasant memories of my brief visit.

7th December 1923. JOINT ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AND DISTRICT BOARD, TRICHINOPOLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy received the addresses of welcome from the Municipal Council and District Board, Trichinopoly, and replied in the following terms:—

Gentlemen, I thank you most warmly for your kind welcome. It is indeed a pleasure to me to receive an address of greeting from you who represent those responsible for the management of the civic affairs of the headquarters town and of the local rural interests of the District.

I deplore the fact that my numerous engagements have only permitted a brief time for my visit to Trichinopoly.

Her Excellency particularly regrets not to have been able to come here to-day and to see what is being accomplished in your town in connection with maternity and child welfare and the other philanthropic and hygienic schemes to which you have made so sympathetic a reference in your address. It is a great

*Joint Address presented by the Municipal Council and District Board,
Trichinopoly.*

encouragement to her to find that she has keen co-adjutors and helpers in Trichinopoly in the good work she has in hand ; she wishes your Baby Week all success and thanks all those who are working for its organization.

You refer to railway extensions ; I take a deep interest in the progress of railway development ; and at Madras I shall make observations in reply to the addresses of the two Chambers of Commerce of your Presidency, dealing at some length with railway policy and new construction. I shall not anticipate these observations to-day ; but I may tell you that my replies will contain words of comfort regarding new construction for the South as well as the North of Presidency.

We live in hopes of an easier financial situation ; this in turn depends on increase in production and in the unimpeded flow of trade and commerce. The efforts of my Government and of the Local Governments are unceasingly directed to bring about these results ; and I trust they may be crowned with success.

Your city with its ancient historical associations stands second to none in India in antiquarian interest. To the Hindus it is still a hallowed place of pilgrimage : and apart from its ancient or religious traditions it makes its appeal to all-comers as an important town in Southern India, as the centre of the life and trade of a busy and productive District and as the home of its educational and other public activities. I am for all these reasons gratified to have had the opportunity of paying even this brief visit to your city.

I thank you again for your address. It has been a pleasure to meet you to-day.

7th December
1923.

ADDRESSES FROM (1) ZEMINDARS OF MADURA DISTRICT (2)
DISTRICT BOARD, MADURA, (3) MUNICIPAL COUNCIL,
MADURA.

His Excellency the Viceroy received addresses from the Zemindars of Madura District, the District Board, Madura, and the Municipal Council of Madura, and in reply His Excellency said as follows :—

Gentlemen, I thank you most warmly for your kind welcome and for your addresses. The many pre-occupations of my high office preclude frequent visits to the Southern Presidency and on the present occasion impose on me the limitation of a very brief stay of a few hours only in this ancient and interesting town. It is indeed a source of disappointment to me to have so restricted a time to spend in a town and district which are second to none in the Presidency in wealth of historical associations and in archaeological and architectural treasures.

My regret is, however, to some extent mitigated by my gratification in the opportunity of meeting you to-day. I have come in contact in the past with those who represent these parts of India in the Imperial Legislature; I have been greatly impressed by their keenness of intellect and their earnest desire to solve the problems arising in the course of the administration. It is an additional interest to me to meet to-day those whom they represent. I deeply appreciate the loyal sentiments which animated you, the Members of the three most prominent bodies in the district, the Municipal Councillors of the second city in the Presidency, the leading landholders of Madura and those entrusted with the conduct of local affairs in the rural tracts, in presenting me with these Addresses. More especially I value your presence to-day because I am enabled to congratulate you personally on the good sense, loyalty and moderation

Addresses from (1) Zemindars of Madura District, (2) District Board, Madura, (3) Municipal Council, Madura.

displayed by the great majority of the people of Madura in recent times in the face of the agitation that prevailed. I have learnt with satisfaction from your Collector that the people of this district never lost their balance and remained steadfast in their desire to support law and order and preserve the calm atmosphere in which their country can develop and progress. It is greatly to the credit of you, the leading members of the urban and rural communities, that sane counsels prevailed and the right angle of view was maintained.

It must be gratifying to you that the ancient glories of Madura have not departed. No district in the Presidency has a more continuous and absorbing past history. At all periods it occupied a prominent position in the Deccan. Its beginnings are lost in the mists of ancient times when the Pāndyas held it as their Kingdom. You have as your heritage associations with the great Nāyak dynasty in the splendid buildings erected under their auspices, which still adorn your towns. The Kings of Mysore, the Nawabs of Arcot and the Maratha Princes vied to possess your country. These events are buried in the past ; but your chief town still holds its head high. It is the second city in the Presidency. It is justly renowned as an industrial and educational centre. Its weaving and dyeing industries have more than a local reputation ; and from the rice, food-grains, cotton, tobacco and coffee grown in its rural tracts, the district ranks high among the important agricultural and producing areas in Madras.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I know that I shall take away most pleasant memories of Madura. I shall often recall the charm of its ancient temples and monuments ; and look back with interest on its present prosperity and on this meeting to-day with its leading citizens.

7th December
1923.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MADRAS CORPORATION,
MADRAS.

On arrival of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Council Chamber of the Corporation, the President of the Corporation and the Councillors accorded him a hearty welcome and presented an address to which His Excellency replied as follows :—

Gentlemen, I thank you most warmly for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to the ancient capital of the oldest Presidency.

My numerous pre-occupations as Viceroy and Governor-General and the insistent calls of public duty in other directions have prevented me from paying a visit to Madras before now ; but I have long looked forward to the opportunity because Madras makes a special appeal to my imagination and offers special attractions to me. In the first place Madras holds a unique position on account of the interest of its historical associations and of its intimate connection with the foundations of British rule in India. In addition it is the headquarters of the Government of the oldest unit of the administration and is the chief town and sea-port of Southern India ; and finally it is the metropolis of the enlightened and progressive people of the Madras Presidency with whose activities and aspirations I have for some time been familiar, but in whose chief town I now find myself for the first time.

I deeply appreciate your expressions of loyalty to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor. The high place you assign to a desire to show capacity for intelligent interest in public affairs is a proof that you apply the correct test to your responsibilities as citizens ; and I congratulate your Councillors on the advance in initiative and power and on the new opportunities for more extended service which have been vouchsafed to your Corporation under the constitution

Address presented by the Madras Corporation, Madras.

of 1919. The franchise now rests on a broad basis ; and your capacity for successful administration has been recognised by the removal of some of the limits to independent action in local affairs which previously existed. I am confident that you will make a wise use of your new powers, ever remembering your great responsibilities both for the welfare of the residents of Madras itself and for displaying an example of efficiency in municipal administration to the numerous visitors from other places to the metropolis of the Presidency.

I look forward with interest to seeing your public institutions and hope to gain an insight into those problems in the solution of which you are engaged. I sympathise with your financial difficulties. You are not alone in having to grapple with stringency of this nature. As a general proposition it is true that where a local body has exploited to the full sources of local revenue and taxation and exercised all possible economy, it will find a local Government, as far as financial circumstances permit, sympathetic towards necessary projects for the provision and extension of municipal amenities ; but it must be remembered that there is no direct connection between municipal works and provincial contributions to the Imperial Government and that municipal schemes for water supply and drainage works do not primarily concern or affect the proceeds of general taxation. In one respect you are fortunate. The wide area which the city occupies obviates the consideration of expensive schemes for the relief of congestion which present so much difficulty in other towns less happily situated. You have ample spaces for expansion, for housing the poorer classes and for enjoying the fresh air and recreation so vital to the health and well-being of the town dweller.

Before I close I wish to felicitate your city and the Presidency on having had His Excellency Lord Willingdon as your

Address presented by the Madras Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

Governor during so many years. His energy, his wide and liberal sympathies, his devotion to his charge and enthusiasm for the interests entrusted to him have been of very great value to this Presidency during an anxious period. His breadth of outlook, courage and sympathy have been of very great service. He is one of the truest and staunchest friends of constitutional reform in India. In all he has done for the Presidency, he has had an untiring and most capable co-adjutor in Lady Willingdon, who can never be deterred by the difficulties or onerous character of any task if she is convinced of its benefit or service to those around her. I know when they depart from Madras they will leave many friends behind them not only in one but in two Presidencies.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind address. You may be confident in my abiding interest in all that concerns the welfare of your ancient and important city.

8th De-
cember
1923.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MADRAS ADI DRAVIDA
MAHAJANA SABHA, MADRAS.

His Excellency the Viceroy in replying to an address of welcome from the above mentioned Sabha said :—

Gentlemen, I thank you for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself. I am particularly gratified to have this opportunity of meeting the representatives of the depressed classes of this Presidency.

I sympathise with the disabilities from which your community has suffered in the past. Let me assure you that Government fully realises the great importance of your community. The interests of a class which forms the bulk of the labour-

Address presented by the Madras Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

ing and agricultural element in the Presidency and have valuable services to the Empire in the war to their credit, are in no danger of being overlooked ; all measures for their moral and material progress will receive the most careful consideration and no reasonable steps will be omitted which may advance them as a community, or increase their capabilities as citizens of the Empire.

His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor in his Royal Proclamation regarding the inauguration of the reformed constitution had the interests of not fully developed communities specially in mind and laid a special charge on the people and their representatives to protect them. I may recall his gracious words—

“ In marching towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that these high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries.”

This is the spirit which His Gracious Majesty would have animate the reforms. The policy of the reformed constitution was set in motion to benefit not only the selected classes but also the masses. The process of gradual increase of association of Indians with the administration has, it is true, a relation to individual capacity ; but the goal of self-governing institutions

Address presented by the Madras Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha, Madras.
is the extension of equal responsibilities and equal privileges
to those who are equal in the eyes of the law.

The disabilities from which you suffer are, as I have shown, not fundamentally political. They partake more of a social nature. Religious aspects of the case are not my concern : and I have no desire to refer to them or to attempt to judge them in any way. None can deny that these social restrictions and limitations are a formidable obstacle to unity and progress in India. They have also unfortunately repercussions beyond India itself. Where outside India Indians advance claims for equal political rights and treatment with the peoples of the Dominions and Colonies, their critics advance rightly or wrongly the argument of the inequality of treatment in India between one class and another. Signs are not wanting that these class disabilities lessen the prestige of India as a country in the eyes of Foreign Nations also. My sympathies are strongly opposed to any system which can have the effect of holding back or stifling the development of a section of the people ; and I look forward to the day when these prejudices may vanish. I shall be pleased if before I leave India I could see the pendulum swing in this direction.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon has constantly shown his warm interest in your community. You may rely on him and his Government to mitigate or remove as far as circumstances will permit the disabilities to which you are exposed. I know that measures concerning the official machinery for the safeguarding of your interests and other questions touching the advancement of your community are engaging the earnest attention of his Government. He has already shown his solicitude for your community by the nomination of 5 of your members to his Legislative Council. I have noted your observations concerning representation and franchise and the classification of subjects. No change is possible in these directions under

Address presented by the Madras Landholders' Association.

existing rules ; but your suggestions will receive consideration when the occasion arises. As regards Indianization of the services you are at liberty to communicate your views to the Royal Commission which is now in India and has this question under examination.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and wish your community all prosperity.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MADRAS LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

8th December
1923.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an address from the Madras Landholders' Association and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen, on behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you most cordially for your kind welcome and for the warm terms in which you have referred to us in your address.

It is a privilege to me to meet here to-day the representatives of the leading landholders of the Presidency. I have heard with gratification of the sound traditions of loyalty and public duty which have always animated you as a body in the past and which you ever strive to maintain ; and these characteristics are right and fitting in view of the prominent position you occupy in the Presidency. The Government has always recognized the great importance of the agricultural classes, in which I include not only the great landlords but all those engaged and employed in agricultural pursuits, and of their services to the country in the past. In no part of India does the study of agriculture offer a more interesting field than in Madras. The fortunes of the countryside in other Provinces are, generally speaking, bound up in a single crop. The Punjab has its vast wheatfields ; jute is the great

*Address presented by the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India,
Madras.*

commercial product of Bengal. Bombay is justly famed for its cotton crop. Burma for its rice and Assam for its tea ; but agricultural produce is richly varied and diversified in Madras. Tea, coffee and rubber flourish in its hills. The West Coast exports its spices and cocoanuts, while the table-lands and the plains of East Coast yield their rich stores of oilseeds and cotton. On the increased outturn of this wide range of produce and on the perfection of the facilities and communications for marketing these products the future prosperity of your province depends ; and in this enhanced prosperity not only one class, but the preponderating majority of the people of the Southern Presidency will have their share. As the enlightened leaders of the agricultural community and as the natural representatives of agricultural interests, I am sure that you are alive to the great responsibility which rests on you to move tegother in the furtherance of all schemes for the benefit of this industry and of the communities it supports. I am confident that you will use every effort to advance the interest not only of the landholding classes but of the masses engaged in agricultural pursuits. You on your part may rely on the Government, which is fully alive to the importance of those interests, to pay the closest regard to all measures affecting them.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I am gratified to have met you to-day.

8th Dec. ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE CATHOLIC INDIAN ASSOCIATION
ember OF SOUTHERN INDIA, MADRAS.
1923.

In reply to the address of welcome from the above mentioned Association His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind address of welcome and I deeply appreciate your loyal sentiments.

*Address presented by the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India,
Madras.*

I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting the members of your community. Not only has this Presidency the distinction of containing a larger Christian population than any other Presidency or Province in India, but it has also the most ancient traditions of association with the Christian faith. To those who are interested in the introduction and spread of Christian tenets into India, the chapters of history which deal with the legendary visit of St. Thomas, the work of St. Francis Xavier in Tinnevelly and other places in Madras and of Robert de Nobili in Madura are landmarks of no common interest.

The sound angle of view from which you envisage the Reformed Constitution is to be commended ; you have set before you a vista of gradual but consolidated progress towards a certain end of political development ; and your desire to participate in its attainment with confidence and enthusiasm, in a spirit of loyalty and respect for law and order, shows the most complete understanding of the hopes and aims which His Majesty's Government had in view in granting this enlarged scope of responsibility and opportunity to the Indian people.

I have noted your desire for wider representation in the Legislative Council of Madras when the franchise is revised. It is, as you are aware, unlikely that any steps will be taken which involve a general revision of the franchise before the time arrives for general re-examination. There can be no doubt that the franchise, once settled, cannot be constantly revised with each variation of population revealed by succeeding Census Reports or by subsequent changes in estimation of the importance of communities. The sympathy of the Government of Madras and of the Government of India with your community and their recognition of your capacity has already been shown by your receiving 5 instead of the 3 seats recommended by the Franchise Committee ; and you may be confident at the next reconsideration of the franchise that your claims will be

*Address presented by the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India,
Madras.*

scrutinized with similar care. You ask that in nominations to the Legislative Assembly two members, one from the Catholic and one from the Protestant community, may be nominated from among the Christians of this Presidency. I am afraid I cannot promise to grant this request. In the first place there are only 14 nominations at the disposal of the Governor-General for the whole of India ; and following previous precedents, not more than 2 of these can ordinarily be made from this Presidency. In making these nominations from Madras, other communities have also to be considered ; and you will recollect that in the report of the Southborough Committee the Christian Associations, both Catholic and Protestant, agreed that the members of these two communities should be considered as a single electorate. In the circumstances it can hardly be expected that it will be possible for the Governor-General to make one Catholic and one Protestant nomination to the Assembly.

You have made observations regarding the selection of the members of your community for the higher grades of the Services. I sympathise with your aspirations ; the question has been very fully discussed : and the policy of Government, as announced in Legislative Assembly, provides that the Central Government in making new recruitment for the services under its control will take steps to secure that the services are not unduly over-weighted with representatives of any one community and that as far as possible the claims of all Provinces and communities are considered. This policy my Government have undertaken to carry out ; it embodies a fair working principle ; and it will not be possible to do more than this.

I have noted your representations regarding certain difficulties relating to Christian marriages. The question to which you refer was, I believe, one of the earliest practical problems with which the Primitive Christian Church had to

Address of the Indian Christian Association, Madras.

deal and also formed the subject of much controversy during the Middle Ages. I am not clear as to the precise amendment of Act XXI of 1866 which you seek ; but if your Association wishes to secure an examination of your proposals, any practical suggestions you put forward will be most carefully considered by my Government ; and if it is established that sufficient case for amendment has been made out and that the suggestions can properly be made the subject of an official bill, the requisite action will be taken.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and wish your community prosperity.

ADDRESS OF THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, MADRAS.

8th December
1923.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an address from the Indian Christian Association, Madras, and in reply His Excellency said :—

Gentlemen, I am gratified to have had this opportunity of meeting you and thank you cordially for your address and the kind welcome you have extended to me.

You have spoken with justifiable pride of the present position and the progress achieved by the Christian Community in this Presidency. The steps which have been taken by you to spread education among your people, to join in the defence of your country and to fit yourselves for an intelligent participation in public affairs are greatly to your credit. It is by the earnest pursuit of these ideals and standards of attainment that even small communities are enabled to take a leading place in the life of a commonwealth. I deeply appreciate your references to the reform scheme, your desire to participate actively in its success and your satisfaction in the achievements already secured in its working. From your remarks it is evident that

Address presented by Anjuman Mufide Ahle Islam and Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

public opinion in your community is travelling along the right lines. Your eyes are fixed on the road along which India is marching ; you will, I know, relax no effort to remove obstacles in her journey to her goal.

I have noted with attention your observations regarding communal representation. Let me assure you that the apprehensions you envisage have been the subject of my careful study. Questions of the position of minorities and of scope for the expression of opinions and views of separate communities are among the most difficult problems connected with representative institutions. Care has been taken, as you remark, to safeguard special interests under the reformed constitution ; and you may be confident that due regard will be paid to the importance of this question to the communities involved, whenever changes in the constitution are under examination.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. It has been a pleasure to meet the representatives of your Association.

8th December 1923. ADDRESS PRESENTED BY ANJUMAN MUFIDE AHLE ISLAM AND MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA, MADRAS.

In reply to the address of the above-mentioned Association His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen, on behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you for your kind words of welcome. It is a great interest to me to have this opportunity of meeting the members of two Associations representing the Muhammadans of the Madras Presidency. I deeply appreciate your grateful references to my efforts and the efforts of my Government in connection with the peace now happily concluded with Turkey. Throughout the long and difficult negotiations I regarded

Address presented by Anjuman Mufide Ahle Islam and Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

it as my duty to keep His Majesty's Government constantly informed of the feelings of Indian Muslims on this subject ; and I never faltered in my confidence that in spite of the difficulties of the issues and the complexities of the interests involved a settlement would be arrived at in the end by His Majesty's Government which would commend itself to Indian Muhammadan sentiment ; in my efforts none gave me more undeviating encouragement and support than His Excellency Lord Willingdon. I take this opportunity of thanking the loyal Muslims of this Presidency for the firm and patient trust which they reposed in my Government while the discussions were proceeding and I associate myself with them in their satisfaction on their conclusion. May these events draw the ties which bind the Muslim population of India to my Government and to the British Empire still closer in the bond of mutual esteem.

I have been greatly interested to hear of the activities of your Associations in the cause of Muslim education. It is only by advancement in this direction in modern times that a community can hope to preserve its importance and influence. Your efforts to foster higher education among your young men and to give the boys of poorer classes a sound primary education with a vocational training to enable them to earn a living do you infinite credit and are worthy of the fullest support from your community. I trust that as time goes on more and more leading Muhammadans of this Presidency will take an active part in practical help to these laudable objects. I am gratified to hear of the assistance which the Government of Madras has been able to give to these schemes and of the valuable support you have received from the personal interest of His Excellency the Governor.

As regards the share of your community in administrative and ministerial posts I understand that the adequate

Address presented by the United Planters' Association, Madras.

representation of different communities in the provincial services has formed the subject of a careful enquiry by the Government of Madras. The extent of your present representation as borne out by the results of that examination is satisfactory for members of your community hold over 5 per cent of the total number of the gazetted and non-gazetted appointments under the Government

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I know that we shall take away most pleasant memories from Madras.

8th De- ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE UNITED PLANTERS' ASSOCIA-
ember
1923. TION, MADRAS.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an address from the United Planters' Association, Madras and replied as follows:—

Gentlemen, I deeply appreciate the feelings of loyalty which have prompted the Members of your Association to come to welcome me in Madras and to present me with an Address. Let me assure you that I greatly value this opportunity of meeting those engaged in the important planting industry. I have heard with admiration of their splendid record of service during the Great War. It is my regret that the time at my disposal will not permit me to pay a visit to those tracts where your estates lie and to see you in your home lands, directing the operations of your industry. I fully realize many of the difficulties which confront you and the vicissitudes to which changes in markets and other conditions from time to time expose you. The importance of increased production to India cannot be overestimated; and I look to the day when the clouds of stringency may pass from the financial horizon and when we may be enabled to carry forward and expand research and cognate lines of assistance in connection with coffee, tea, rubber and other products with which you are

Addresses presented by the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

concerned and in which India as a producing and exporting country is vitally interested. The Madras Government, assisted by the Coorg administration and the Indian States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin has, I am glad to note, been able to effect some substantial progress in agricultural research from which the industry has benefited, more particularly in the direction of soil renovation and selection and isolation of improved strains of coffee seed ; but much still remains to be done. Many problems of cultivation and soil composition, of improvement of outturns and standardization of produce, of marketing and of prevention and cure of disease await fuller investigation ; and on their solution depends not only the welfare of your community, but the increased prosperity of large areas in Southern India. Let me assure you of the very lively interest I take in these questions and of the sympathy which efforts for the encouragement of production will always command from me. There is no subject to which I attach a greater importance ; and it is my earnest desire to see a material advance in India in this direction for which her climate, rainfall and soil particularly adapt her.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your Address and wish you all prosperity.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED BY THE MADRAS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE SOUTHERN INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MADRAS.

8th December
1923.

In replying to the addresses of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce His Excellency the Vice-roy said :—

Gentlemen, I thank you for your warm welcome and am glad to have this opportunity of meeting the members of

Addresses presented by the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

the Chambers of Commerce of Madras and Southern India. I am making a joint reply to your addresses because in the first place they deal with a similar subject and moreover they both give prominence to the provincial contribution to the Central Government which you would wish to see reduced and in which I also would welcome a change if conditions would permit and if it would mean increased prosperity, a greater expansion of production and a steadier flow of trade and Commerce in India.

In another direction also there is a pleasing similarity between your two addresses. You look forward to a time (may it not unduly tarry in its coming !) when trade will improve; I fully share your faith, and my Government is acting on the same optimistic conviction. Before the war, India occupied the proud position of standing seventh in importance among the trading countries of the world. Outside Europe she had no rival but America. In the near future foreign trade may again be a redoubtable competitor; and the development of sub-tropical tracts in Africa and elsewhere may threaten India's markets in commodities which were her speciality. Nevertheless India possesses such geographical and natural advantages that I am convinced that with proper foresight and due diligence she should be able not only to maintain but to improve her relative position. Among the essential provisions to secure this result I class increase in productivity and development of facilities for transport.

I have the impression that the minds of the public are largely still centered on the dislocations of the war and its aftermath. It is not sufficiently realised that Government is travelling away from those conditions and leaving them in the wake. The Local and Central Governments have already begun to revert to the old practice, so beneficial to India

Addresses presented by the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

in pre-war days, of capital expenditure for productive purposes. Different parts of India have different schemes. In Madras you place in the forefront of your economic needs the development and construction of railways. We all know what the war left behind. There were not only heavy arrears of repairs and replacements, but there was arrested development. Normal schemes for extension and improvement had to be kept in abeyance. It takes time to recover from such conditions. Much progress has already been made ; and there are indications that before long the capacity of most of the railways will have definitely improved. It is not perhaps realized that last year the figure of net ton miles for railways all over India was 20 per cent. higher than in 1913-14. I am confident that the ability of the railways to carry more goods and carry them further will now become increasingly evident with each year. For the welfare of India no factor is, in my opinion, of greater importance. Money has been liberally provided for capital expenditure where money can be spent to give quick and profitable returns. I wish to get ahead with all necessary works of rehabilitation and improvement.

Already it has become possible to consider the construction of new lines, of which you assure me your province stands in such need. You may be gratified to know that the first three proposals of which my Government has approved all relate to your Presidency. Work should be commenced very shortly on the Villupuram Trichinopoly Chord, one of the projects to which you draw special attention.

My Government has always recognized that a wide diffusion of economic interests is characteristic of Madras. You have a long expanse of sea board studded with small ports. You value cross country communications ; and several of those we are now prepared to provide. It must however be borne

Addresses presented by the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

in mind that the Central Government cannot in the discharge of its responsibilities merely have regard to local predilections in favour of constructing new lines. Rates of interest on Government loans are high ; and any project of this nature must be remunerative. Subject to the latter condition I trust that in new construction we may shortly be able to exchange the pace of the tortoise for that of the hare ; and we are making the start in your Presidency.

There may be cases, as you know, where the local advantages of a line appear to a Local Government to outweigh the ruthless logic of remunerative shortcomings. Nevertheless we realise that there may be special considerations affecting special cases of this character which should and will receive close attention ; we have at present under discussion with the Local Governments proposals designed to bring together these two somewhat conflicting interests.

Closely allied to railways are ports and harbours. You take a justifiable pride in the improvements constantly effected in the Madras harbour ; and I congratulate you on its increasing fitness to cope with the needs of modern commerce. I am gratified that an agreement has been reached whereby the Government of Madras will be able to assist in the development of the harbour in Cochin and at the same time to help in a similar object in Tuticorin. I am well aware that His Excellency the Governor has always taken deep interest in these projects and should they be successfully executed they should greatly foster trade and commerce in Southern India. Vizagapatam is regarded as possessing great potentialities. Its future however depends to a large extent on the prospects of the Raipu-Vizianagram line which require re-examination in the light of more recent data. This scrutiny is now in hand ; and it will soon be possible finally to decide as regards both the line and the harbour.

Address presented by the National Home Rule League, Madras.

Gentlemen, the interest of my subject has carried me beyond customary limits of a reply to an address. I know past difficulties of transport have been vexatious, but I believe that a new life has begun to pulsate in railway enterprise. The machinery of administration has been thoroughly overhauled and greater efficiency has been secured. Arrears are being overtaken; new projects are being put in hand and examined. The first steps in new construction are taking place in the north and south of your Presidency; and it is your Presidency which should glean the first sheaves of the new trade prosperity they bring.

I regard the development of railways as of prime importance in the industrial progress of India and you may confidently rely upon my determination and that of my Government to advance railway construction wherever and whenever it is practicable.

Let me assure you that every avenue of advancement in railway transport will be fully explored.

I thank you again for your addresses. I have valued this opportunity of meeting you.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL HOME RULE LEAGUE,
MADRAS.

10th De-
cember
1923.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an address from the National Home Rule League, Madras, which was read by Dr. Annie Besant and in reply His Excellency said:—

Dr. Besant and Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind address of welcome. Let me express my appreciation of the cordial and loyal terms in which your greetings are couched.
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Address presented by the National Home Rule League, Madras.

I observe that you have alluded to the desire of India to advance towards a higher political status. In pursuing the aim of responsible Government in India, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India invite and must rely on that powerful body of enlightened and progressive Indian opinion which sees in the constitutional method of advance both the only practicable and also the most expeditious means of attainment of that goal. I have noted with satisfaction that substantial progress has already been made on these lines. As your League points out, practical proof has been given of the earnest desire of the Government of India to seek and apply remedies where grievances exist and to create an atmosphere where constitutional activities can grow and fructify. I have been gratified to mark that the Legislatures in India on their part have not been slow to avail themselves of the new powers with which they are invested with results clearly manifested not only in legislation but also in policy and administration. With this experience behind them all those, who are united in the ideals to be pursued and agree in views as to best and speediest method of their realization, can look to the future in strong hope and confidence.

You make special reference to the Secretary of State. I do not understand your description of his position as autocratic, for he is a Minister of His Majesty's Government responsible to the British Parliament. As regards Lord Peel I wish to express my obligation to him for his unremitting efforts thoroughly to understand and weigh Indian opinion in all questions and for his unvarying desire to further the best interests of India in every way. The many occasions on which India has had cause for gratitude to Lord Peel are perhaps better known to me than to the public at large. In particular I draw attention to the great goodwill and sympathy to India manifested by Lord Peel in his address at the Imperial Conference. His advocacy contributed

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

most notably to the creation of the favourable atmosphere during the Kenya discussions and paved the way for the cordial reception of the observations of the Indian delegates, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. India is deeply indebted to the two latter for their convincing presentation of her case in the Conference, and in addition to his powerful exposition of India's claims in the formal discussions. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru deserves the highest commendation for his patient and untiring efforts in informal interviews and conversation with the representatives of the Dominions and Colonies on India's behalf.

With your League, I rejoice in the attainment of peace in the Near East and join in the hope expressed by His Majesty in his prorogation speech that the Treaty will "herald an era of political and commercial prosperity for Turkey and the countries which are renewing friendly relations with her."

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE DINNER
GIVEN BY THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

15th December 1823.

The European Association, Calcutta, entertained His Excellency the Viceroy and proposed his health and in reply to the toast the Viceroy said :—

Mr. Carr, Your Excellency and Gentlemen, I thank you very warmly for the kind manner in which you have drunk my health. Let me assure you, gentlemen, that it is a pleasure to me to find myself once more in Calcutta and that I am more than pleased to be a second time the guest of the European Association to whose efforts in the cause of India I made reference last year. I earnestly hope that in these days there will be no relaxation in the activities of this Association and that the European

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

community will give to it ever increasing support in order that it may express with full authority their views upon the public affairs of India.

I am very grateful to you for your observations regarding myself as Viceroy. They are a great encouragement to me in my difficult and responsible task. I have seen the rumours, you mention, chronicled at various times and from diverse sources : I know nothing of them or their cause or origin. I pay no regard to them and after this expression of my views you will doubtless treat them in similar fashion.

The year, which has passed since I last had the pleasure of meeting you all, has been full of events of unusual interest both to the Empire and to India. The peace negotiations with Turkey have come to a solution. Their conclusion has brought a sense of relief to the East and to the Moslems of India in particular. The reparation question and the situation in Germany have been the cause of unceasing anxiety and the problems of peace in Europe have been as difficult as those of the war. Trade and economic conditions are recovering slowly if at all. There has been much unemployment in the British Isles. Two Imperial Conferences of the greatest importance to the Empire and to India have been held. A general election has taken place at home. His Majesty's Government and the Dominion Governments are straining every effort, and exploring every expedient to solve the difficult questions which the war has left in its wake. The Empire with that determination, which helped to win the war, is getting to grips with the no less momentous task of making a success of the peace.

India also during the period has had experiences, not perhaps of such general moment, but nevertheless of very great

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

importance to us in India. The life of the first Legislative Assembly came to a close with the Session of last July. That Session and the Meetings of the preceding spring were of unusual interest. I need not recapitulate the more important events. The passing of the so-called racial distinction legislation was, I know, of special interest to your Association. Last year our financial position caused us the greatest anxiety. We took the most drastic steps to reduce expenditure ably assisted by a Committee presided over by one of Calcutta's business leviathans and containing Calcutta business men without whose help we could never have attained success ; and the results of our action will be efficacious and beneficial not only as regards the Budget on which we are working but in the future also. In order, however, to show a balanced banker's book I was obliged to act in accordance with the responsibilities with which I have been entrusted as Governor-General ; and I had no alternative except to use my special powers to certify an increase in the salt tax at a rate necessary for achieving financial stability ; the echoes of the opposition aroused by my action have not yet completely died away. I have explained my position publicly ; and there is no necessity for further controversy as far as I am concerned ; but I wish to repeat that the months which have since passed have only served to convince me that the financial situation fully justified my action, that its beneficial effect on the credit of India is undoubted and that the objections urged on economic grounds have been proved to have had no real foundation.

Two Imperial Conferences of great importance have taken place. I need not dwell here on their results. To one aspect of these Conferences, however, I may draw attention. I think the discussions must have laid once for all two of those ghosts which are sometimes paraded in India before us as bogeys with clashing chains. In the first place the Conferences gave prominence to a subject, to which I often allude, the great place

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

awaiting India in the Empire. There are those who would have us believe that His Majesty's Government and the Dominions in Imperial affairs sit like the Gods apart on fields of Amaranth and Moly careless of mankind, that is of mankind represented by India. I cannot imagine that after the Imperial Conference recently held this contention can ever be put forward again. For in both Conferences India and her affairs not only appeared on the programme but actually formed a *piece de resistance* at the entertainment ; and on several days of the meetings India was the only subject of discussion, all attention being centred on her problems and her point of view. The further point I have in mind is the angle of view which regards Indian affairs as exclusively dominated and controlled by an unsympathetic and indifferent Secretary of State who is domiciled in a hostile country known as Whitehall. Indeed in a public address recently presented to me I was described as standing between an angry India and an autocratic Secretary of State. We are deeply indebted to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, our Indian delegates, for their unceasing efforts and most eloquent advocacy of India's cause in the Kenya discussions ; but all will admit their presentation of our case was immeasurably assisted and furthered by Lord Peel's great speech. I am assured by many of my Indian friends that no Indian could have put India's point of view in a more cogent, a more sympathetic or a more forceful manner than was done by Lord Peel.

Last year we spoke of the services in India. Questions of recruitment, of Indianisation and of provincialisation were in our minds. We recognised that there had been some change in the form of the driving power of our administrative machinery ; this might produce in its turn some effect on the delicate instruments by which the Government achieves its technical processes : and that if the latter were to suffer, the welfare of India

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

would be affected, with repercussions on the opinion which might be entertained of the material value to India of the reforms.

Mr. Carr has again spoken of the solicitude of your Association for the services and for the recruitment of the best material in the interest of the efficient running of the administrative machine and the future of India. I welcomed the assurance he gave last year on behalf of your Association that you viewed progress in Indianisation with full sympathy always provided the standard of Government in this country was maintained. The difficulties which have been felt by the members of the services and the wider question of the composition, of the method of recruitment and conditions of employment of the services for the future in the administration under the reformed constitution are now being examined by the Royal Commission ; and for this reason I refrain from further comment. The solution of these problems is of vital importance to India and to the working of the reforms : I know that the Members of your Association will ponder over these questions in the best interests of India and give to Lord Lee's Commission the benefit of your considered opinion.

Let us turn for a moment to our internal politics. The present time is one of special interest. The life of the first Legislative Assembly has come to an end, and the Members of a new Assembly and of new Legislative Councils in the Provinces are about to enter on their course. A few months ago I summed up the progress that had been made by their predecessors. They left a record of solid achievement behind them. They pressed forward the plough of the pioneers over new fields and in the furrows behind they left the seeds germinating of a crop for posterity to reap. Many of them, I am glad to say, will return and will assist the newly elected legislative bodies

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

with their store of garnered experience and sobriety of judgment ; but these new Councils will also contain many of those who once held aloof from our constitutional bodies. Some of these have been in the past connected with ideas of progress which are contrary to accepted ideals and which my Government considered injurious to India's welfare. Nevertheless now that they enter the fold of our Legislators, I trust that their close association and better acquaintance with the work of administration will eventually result in increased sobriety of judgment and in greater regard for more peaceful but surer methods of progress. Former traditions may at first have their influence ; but I hope that as experience matures these will be left outside the doors of the Council Chamber, and that a truer patriotism may shine forth in the service of India in this period of her opportunity and her test.

I trust I may not be mistaken in the hopes I have expressed that the differences of opinion between them and my Government may be solved by mutual goodwill and desire for the welfare of India.

Let me return to the subject of partriotism. Where India is concerned I am sure that we all are, according to our abilities and in our convictions, true patriots. Your Association has as its catchword a desire to "foster relations of cordiality and co-operation with Indians working constructively for India's good". It is as regards the pace of progress and the method of serving India that some differ from others. Some would convey the coach, to return to Mr. Carr's metaphor of last year, to its destination, having in view the difficulties and dangers of the road, at a safe pace behind well-trained horses. They would not overstrain their cattle ; they would run no risk of shipping them on to a standstill or to a fall, or of overturning the coach upon the road. Others however would harness to it untrained

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

race horses and send them forth on their long journey with a loose rein at the pace of a five furlong race. There can be no question as to which method will bring India in safety to the end of her journey. Haste and impatience do not make for real political progress. Take the history of the franchise, of the great annals of the progress of democracy and liberties in England. Advance came by stages and those who reared the edifice consolidated their work as they built.

In these days no doubt there is greater rapidity of progress in the world. The pulse of the self-expression of a nation beats more quickly. There are now more widely spread desires and more universal aspirations to take part in the work of Government and to influence its activities. I should be the last to ignore such changes. Stirrings of this nature in the minds of the people evoke my sympathy. Nevertheless the essential truth of the statement of principle I have made regarding political progress remains unchanged. The sincerity of the desire to advance is not in itself or by itself a safeguard against the very real pitfalls of rash action.

India has in the last few years made remarkable progress and the policy of His Majesty's Government, however constituted, has been declared in unmistakable terms.

Let us however beware of undue precipitancy which may retard but will not hasten the advent to the desired goal. Rather let those who would serve India, Hindus, Mohammadans and Europeans, the classes and the masses march together as one progressive army in well ordered array with patriots and statesmen in the forefront to lead her to the conservation of her high aims and aspirations and to the contentment and happiness of her peoples.

18th December
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy lunched with the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce on the 18th December and in reply to the address presented by the Chamber His Excellency delivered the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the very cordial greetings you have extended to me and for your kind references to Her Excellency. As Mr. Carey with true intuition has observed both Her Excellency and I eagerly look forward to our annual visits to Calcutta. Let me assure you that not only do we enjoy Calcutta while we are here, but we also often keep Calcutta in mind after our departure. The opportunities we have of meeting representatives of Calcutta, when they come to the headquarters of the Government of India to serve in the Legislatures or to help administration in Committees, constantly bring back pleasant recollections of our past visits to Calcutta to us and set our thoughts travelling forward towards our next visit.

Quite apart from the material amenities of Calcutta, which I must confess offer no inconsiderable attraction and on which it would not be right for me to dwell unduly, the great charm and interest of Calcutta for me is the opportunity of living for a time in another atmosphere and of meeting and conversing with those who contemplate India's future development, political and material, from the angle of view of men engaged in the broader stream of commercial activity and in constant touch with its fountain source at the Capital of the Empire on the other side of the world.

The hospitality extended to me by the representatives of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to-day gives me an opportunity of this character which I greatly value and without which my visit to Calcutta would have been incomplete.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

If these meetings are treasured by me, I can assure you that they are no less prized by the Members of my Government; and when the work of the administration permits of their absence, they take every opportunity of visiting commercial centres and of deriving advantage from intercourse with the leading minds of the commercial world. I am gratified that three of the Members of my Council were able to be present recently at the meetings of the Associated Chambers. I know they gleaned valuable information from their conversations in Bombay; and I trust that the Members of the Associated Chambers also took away some benefit in return. I think it may have been of interest to the latter to have had insight into the schemes my Government have under examination; and statements such as that of Sir Basil Blackett, showing the very wide line of country he has selected for exploration in the domain of finance, help to bring others into touch with the questions exercising the minds of the administration and to promote a feeling of confidence that the outlook of Government is sufficiently comprehensive.

You have referred to enactments which I may class together as labour legislation. I am conscious of the great assistance we have received from Calcutta business men in making an advance with this kind of legislation; an advance was needed: for the conditions under which labour worked in India were admittedly to the discredit of a country now endowed with representative institutions. The International Labour Organization at Geneva has alluded in most appreciative terms to the sincerity of India in the matter of labour legislation as shown by the practical steps taken by her to carry into effect each draft convention she ratifies. Nevertheless, as you justly observe, in view of the special character of Indian labour and the ancient traditions behind the systems now in use progress

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

must be achieved gradually. Sympathy, patience and understanding must attend the introduction of each reform. Let me assure you that my Government realise these limitations to the full; and mindful of the antipathy of old bottles to the sudden inflow of new vintages will proceed with such change after due deliberation and after discussion, where necessary, with those best qualified to assist with advice as for instance the Members of your Chamber.

The Tariff Board has been at work in Calcutta. As their enquiry is still in progress, it would not be right for me to state any views at present: I only refer to their work to express the hope that all important commercial bodies in Calcutta will continue to afford them any information and assistance they may seek in this difficult enquiry of a most technical nature.

You will naturally expect me to refer to the important Conference recently concluded. I allude to the Imperial Economic Conference on which your Chamber cannot fail to be specially interested. Before I refer to the Conference itself, let me first express my warm appreciation of the efforts of the delegates representing India. Circumstances rendered their task specially difficult: but in spite of those difficulties they were successful in making a notable contribution on behalf of India to the proceedings of the Conference. The main part of the work of representing India fell upon Mr. Iunes, who is to be most warmly congratulated on the great industry.

This was the first Imperial Conference specially assembled to deal exclusively with the subject of economic condition affecting the Empire. Its composition was of a most authoritative and representative character. I need not dilate to you on the conditions preceding its meetings on trade depression, on the economic interrelation of one country to another, and on the disastrous effect produced in the world by the

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

economic collapse of Central Europe ; for it has affected India, as well as England and the Dominions, severely ; and you are familiar with the conditions of widespread unemployment of an unparalleled nature in England consequent on the loss of markets. These conditions caused His Majesty's Government acute anxiety. Hopes were however entertained that pending the slow rehabilitation of Europe, some remedy might be found in increase in trading among themselves by the different countries of the Empire. It was therefore determined to explore to the full the resources of the Empire and the conditions necessary for the wider development of trade within the Empire.

In the forefront of these discussions arose the question of Imperial preference. In regard to this question India occupied a widely different position from that of the Dominions. The delegates of the latter could rely on the support of those whom they represented for the principles they advocated. The issue of Imperial preference, however, has not as yet been discussed in the Indian Legislature and in consequence as you are aware, our representatives in accordance with the views of my Government did not commit themselves to the principle of Imperial preference. You will realize that in the circumstances this was the proper course.

When the time comes to consider the question in the Indian Legislature the implications of the policy, now perhaps not sufficiently widely understood will have become more familiar. Public opinion in India has yet to explore the question before there can be a basis to arrive at a considered judgment upon it.

As far as India is concerned there is no reciprocity of preference at present. By the preference given by the British

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

Government to Indian coffee, tea and tobacco India receives a sum, estimated to amount to nearly 2 million pounds, and three times as great as the value received by any other country in the Empire. India gives no preference in return. She is the only country in the Empire which does not respond to preference. These are benefits to India capable of easy and immediate comprehension. Other benefits are claimed for the system which demand and deserve close study. There are also political and other aspects, as well as economic, for consideration : I need not deal with these at present.

The value of the results of the Conference as regards commercial conditions and resources will be better appreciated when the full official report is issued. It will not be possible for me to dwell on all the recommendations ; but the proceedings of the Committees on inter-Imperial Exchange and on the taxation of shipping, the discussions regarding bills of lading and arbitration awards and regarding Imperial communications —more especially regarding a bi-weekly service by airship to and from India carrying mails and passengers and accomplishing the journey in $4\frac{1}{2}$ days—are of special interest to India. The scheme for co-operation in the development of Imperial resources is of great importance. His Majesty's Government have offered, subject to ratification by Parliament, to contribute up to a maximum of $\frac{3}{4}$ of the interest for 5 years to that portion of an approved development schemes of public utility which results in expenditure in England. This offer, if ratified, will deserve the most careful consideration by all those who are interested in productive development. Besides the immediate material advantages to be expected, let me draw attention to another aspect of the Conference of more indirect but none less to my mind of most decided benefit to India. Our representatives met almost daily, both inside and outside the Conference Chamber, the representatives of the Dominions

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Executive Committee of the Provincial Boy Scouts Association, Madras.

and His Majesty's Ministers. Nothing but good can result from such intercourse. No small portion of the misunderstandings between countries arises from a mutual failure to appreciate the problems that beset each country and the special conditions for which each country has to provide. I have no doubt that these meetings have borne fruit in a more general comprehension of the importance of India to England and the Empire. A more generous view has, I am confident, sprung into existence both in England and the Dominions regarding the special problems affecting India. At the same time our delegates can communicate to us the atmosphere of the difficult problems which His Majesty's Government have to solve and of the feelings of the Dominions towards questions in which India is interested. On both sides this intercourse will bring forth greater tolerance and intuition. Judgments will no longer be made on the basis of mere externals or on isolated events or reports which do not represent the true feelings of the countries. With a greater inclination to strive to understand difficulties, to comprehend special conditions, to appreciate prejudices and needs, and with a more universal desire to search for ground for mutual agreement the bond of union and sympathy will grow stronger and will draw the nations of the Empire ever closer together. In addition it will prove to be for their mutual benefit and the advancement of their prosperity and, as I believe in my heart, in the furtherance of the best interests of humanity.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE
ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE PROVINCIAL BOY SCOUTS ASSOCIATION, MADRAS.

11th Decem-
ber 1923.

Gentlemen.—Both as Viceroy and as Chief Scout for India and Burma I deeply value the kind welcome the Scouts of

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address of the Municipal Corporation of Rangoon.

Madras have offered to Her Excellency and myself. You have the right conception of the spirit which should animate Scout work. The principles of loyalty, of truth, of help to others, of development of individual character and capacity, and of association in brotherhood for a single good purpose are the foundations of the Scout movement. Fidelity to these principles stimulates and inspires the noblest form of self-expression in a country or a nation. Reverence for these ideals makes small nations great and great nations more united and respected.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of seeing the Scouts of Madras. In numbers they not only head the list among the provincial Boy Scout Associations ; but last year could actually show twice as many Scouts as any other Association in India or Burma. May they continue to point the way not only in numbers but also in undeviating fidelity to Scout laws and principles. I wish the Scout brotherhood in Madras all success. Let it be your aim in Madras ever to combine the longest roll call with the best record.

21st December 1923. HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF RANGOON.

In replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the Members of the Corporation of Rangoon His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Councillors.—I thank you most cordially for your warm welcome to Her Excellency and myself and for the kind expressions in which you have referred to me. Let me assure you that we have been eagerly looking forward to our visit to Burma and to its capital city. Burma and Rangoon are renowned for the warmth of their greetings ; I had from His

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address of the Municipal Corporation of Rangoon.

Royal Highness the Prince of Wales a most vivid account of the right royal welcome which all classes of people in Burma vied with each other in enthusiasm to give to him two years ago ; and I deeply appreciate the striking display of loyalty evinced during his visit.

Burma has its special problems : it has special needs and special conditions of its own. I trust that my visit will enable us more fully to understand these conditions and to appreciate the aims and aspirations of its people.

My visit, as you observe, coincides with the inauguration of important changes in Burma. It also falls, if I am rightly informed, on the auspicious date of the birthday of your Municipal Corporation. I believe the Councillors before us entered upon their duties on the 21st of December 1922 and began on that date to exercise those wider powers which the Rangoon Municipal Act of 1922 has conferred upon them. I have heard the most gratifying accounts of the zeal and energy with which you discharge your responsibilities for the welfare of the capital of Burma ; and I wish this Council and its Members many years of public usefulness and disinterested service on behalf of the citizens of Rangoon.

The commerce of Burma is bound up with the port of Rangoon : and many eyes in the world are fixed on the development of this province with its wealth of resources and on its chief port. You are not alone in the pride with which you regard your city or in your confidence in its future. I have noted the success attained by your recent sterling loan for £3,00,000. The terms you secured are a proof that Rangoon has a credit worthy of its position as the capital of Burma and as a great port of the Indian Empire.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Rangoon Trades Association.

I have heard of the important schemes of your Port Commissioners and of your Development Trust and of the many improvements you have in view. I congratulate these important bodies on their combined efforts for the progress of Rangoon and I look forward to gaining an insight during my visit into the works they have under contemplation. The Development Trust, I understand, have been fortunate in the foresight of their precursors; and I am interested to hear that the city is still expanding on an ordered scheme of town-planning laid down for it seventy years ago.

Burma is travelling along the new road of the reformed constitution : and I wish her all success on her journey. She has a well-tried, understanding and sympathetic friend and one who knows the road, in His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, her Governor, to lead her on the way. His great experience and sound judgment will be of the utmost value at this important period of her history.

Gentlemen, you are to be envied in the interests and responsibilities which fall to your lot in the care of the future of your important city. It has been gratifying to me to have met you to-day. I know we shall take away most happy recollections from Rangoon.

21st Dec.
ember
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCE THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE RANGOON TRADES ASSOCIATION ON THE 21ST DECEMBER 1923.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address from the Rangoon Trades Association and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful to you for your kind hospitality and for giving me this opportunity of meeting prominent business men in Rangoon which I greatly value.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Rangoon Trades Association.

I find difficulty in replying to the very generous appreciation of myself and my career which your Chairman has expressed. Indeed I should have been overcome with confusion had I not reflected that the keen advocate is at times swept onward by his own eloquence and thus often over-colours his case. It is well that I am not fully posted with the details of your Chairman's career, for I am thus deprived of the opportunity of returning his generous words in kind and drawing upon my nautical experience in the breezy manner characteristic of him. As it is I must content myself with thanking him and with adding that the Rangoon Trades Association have given strong evidence of capacity for suitable selection by choosing him for the third time to occupy the chair at their annual dinner.

Before I came to India as Viceroy Burma was little more than a name to me though a name associated with pleasant visions. For when I thought of Burma I thought of Pagodas, of rice, teak and bamboes, of wild elephants and bison, and of silk, cigars and oil. I had heard of the charm of the Burmese and of their happy outlook in life. I know the Irrawaddy was a river ; but my ideas were vague about the Shan States and the Arakanese.

Since I have been in India I have had more time to study the question. I have been able to give the component parts truer values and more accurate places and to piece together these and other features in a picture. My education in things Burman has been advanced by the advantage of conversations about Burma with your present Governor and your late Lieutenant-Governor ; I have also met those who represented Burma from time to time in the Central Legislature. I look to my present visit to assist me to capture in part at least the final and correct perspective and to appreciate Burma from the right angle of view.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Rangoon Trades Association.

I say "appreciate" purposely because I am confident that Burma has a great future before it. No one can study the history of the rapid and unprecedented progress of this city of Rangoon, where the products of Burma find their outlet or reflect on its continuous growth in prosperity without being deeply impressed with the steady expansion in the development of the natural resources of the Province ; and I believe this development has come to stay and to increase; vast resources still await exploration and all conditions point to a period of even more rapid advance and greater material welfare for the Province in the future.

To achieve this progress sustained effort will be needed. Knowledge and forethought will be called into action if it is to proceed on the right lines. The course for each scheme of expansion will require to be marked out with the greatest care and deliberation. Capital will have to be attracted and its flow directed into the most productive channels. The closest co-operation between the administration of the Province and those concerned in production or in the disposal of the products of the country must be secured.

I am confident that the required energy and skill will be forthcoming in Burma itself. As regards capital Government is fortunate in possessing the nest egg of rice control profits which, I understand, amounts to more than a crore of rupees. I know that you may rely on your Governor, His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, for wise guidance in the use of this capital in the best interests of the welfare of the Province. I think the success of the Rangoon Corporation's recent loan proves that there is a public with a firm faith in Burma's future ; and there should be no difficulty, if sound schemes are placed before the public, of procuring further means of development from the same sources either for public bodies or for private enterprise.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Rangoon Trades Association.

I have said there should be co-operation between the producer, the commercial man and the Government, and I am confident that you will find that the latter are always ready to keep in touch and pay deference to the views of the two former classes. A very real opportunity has been given by the reforms of directly expressing the views of those important classes and of influencing the actions of the administration by their opinions : It is an opportunity which none should neglect. There are no classes more directly concerned in the results of the administration than the two to which I have referred. There is a temptation for the practical man immersed in practical work and affairs to leave politics to others. He is inclined to the view that time spent in politics is time wasted for the business man. I have no hesitation in stating that he is mistaken. It is certainly the wrong view if regarded from broad considerations of the general welfare of the country. I believe that even from the narrow aspect of self-interest also it is erroneous. I have been gratified to mark the very keen interest now taken in the work of the Legislatures in India by Commercial Chambers, by the European Association, by Landowners' Associations, by Mining Federations and other bodies of this nature. Some of these bodies, while not inimical to the reforms in anyway, were not at the outset eager to take a direct and active part. This position has now however changed, and the keen interest displayed by these bodies has added a wealth of experience, sound criticism and constructive suggestion to the debates of Legislative bodies in India. I trust these excellent traditions will be maintained and flourish. If not, Government will lose the benefit of the opinion of the communities of the greatest importance to the welfare of the country and herein lies the essence of representative institutions. The devisers of the constitution have afforded the opportunities : it is for the communities to make

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Municipal Committee of Mandalay.

use of them. It is in the expression of opinion of all classes including the commercial community that we must look for that more complete self-expression of India and Burma which is their ultimate aim and aspiration. Here in Burma you are comparatively at the outset of your voyage on the sea of Reforms which is to carry you to the harbour of self-government in the Imperial ocean. You have not yet proceeded far on the voyage : but you have had a good send off and you are especially fortunate, in my judgment, in having at the head a Governor so well tried and well equipped as Sir Harcourt Butler with his great knowledge of affairs and wide understanding and sympathetic outlook on life. I fervently trust that the future of Burma will be as happy and prosperous as her greatest lovers would desire and that as time progresses and development extends she will shed even greater lustre as a most precious jewel in the diadem of Empire.

7th Dec.
ember
1923.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE OF MANDALAY.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Municipal Committee of Mandalay and replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful to you, the Members of the Mandalay Municipal Committee, for the cordial welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself and for the very kind expressions in which you have alluded to me. Let me assure you that we are both delighted to find ourselves in Mandalay and to have this opportunity of visiting Upper Burma and of meeting the representatives of its people.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Municipal Committee of Mandalay.

Upper Burma makes a special appeal to me on account of its historical and religious associations. My thoughts travel back to the dynasty which for ten centuries maintained its administration in this country. The art and design of its palaces carries me in retrospect to even a more remote period and evokes memories of those ancient palaces of Asoka's dynasty, reminiscent of the glories of Susa, Persepolis and Babylon, which delighted the ancient Greek travellers to the East with their splendours. It was in this country also that the Buddhist religion when driven from India, found a refuge and a home ; and the people of Upper Burma may treasure with pride as their permanent contribution to the history of humanity the great part played by them in the preservation of a religion which claims a larger number of followers among the human race than any other.

By the new constitution your Committee has been entrusted with wide responsibilities and well-defined powers. I trust these may be wisely used for the welfare of Mandalay. They offer a splendid field for your activities. Not only have you to provide for the well-being and health of the citizens of Mandalay itself, but it should also be your pride and privilege to display high standards of efficiency to those who come to visit this premier city of Upper Burma. Further you have within the limits of Municipal administration an exceptional opportunity for the exercise of that sense of responsibility and that capacity to co-operate in harmony for the common weal which is the essence of true representative institutions in the larger constitutional sphere.

Local self-government is the practice ground for the test of those qualities which fit a people to take part in the general administration of the country. It is the nursery of political capacity.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Trustees of the Agra College, Agra.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. We look forward to our closer acquaintance with the people of Mandalay and with the charm and beauty of the city with eager anticipation.

It is with deep regret that I reluctantly decided to abandon my proposed visit to other parts of Burma. I am very sorry for the inconvenience that may be caused by the change in plans; and I would ask those who may possibly be disappointed, as I undoubtedly am, to bear in mind that the distance from the seat of Government is great and the demands of public business upon the Viceroy cannot be calculated in advance with any certainty; various matters connected with the administration now require my presence at Delhi and it therefore becomes my duty to repair thither immediately after the close of my visit to your city instead of realizing the much anticipated pleasure of Her Excellency and myself, of forming a more extended acquaintance with the country districts and the chief river of Burma. Notwithstanding this acute disappointment I feel assured we shall take away pleasurable memories of Mandalay which will long remain with us.

20th January 1924. HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE AGRA COLLEGE, AGRA.

In connection with the Agra College centenary celebrations His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading, visited the College and opened the Meston Hall, the Marris Physics Block and the Bishambhar Nath Hostel.

In reply to the address presented to him by the Trustees of the Agra College, His Excellency said:—

Gentlemen,—It is a source of pleasure to me to have this opportunity of visiting the Agra College and of being associated

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Trustees of the Agra College, Agra.

with ceremonies which will extend the field of its labours and increase its capacity for useful activity. My visit also comes at an auspicious time when the Agra College has just completed a century of its existence as a College and can look back with pride over a long record of fine educational work.

I wish to congratulate those who have been and who are still associated with the management and with the direction of studies in the College and the past and present *alumni* on the reputation the college has won and on the good tradition which has been established.

There is nothing more greatly to be coveted and there is nothing more difficult to create and maintain than a noble tradition. The passage of many years and the work of many men go to its making. Its growth depends on the continuous infusion of the right spirit and true enthusiasm. It is inspired by good intentions. It gains strength from achievements. It flourishes by overcoming difficulties, by resolving perplexities and by facing disappointments. There is no easy path and no short cut to a noble tradition.

All these stages have had their place in the history of the Agra College ; and it must be a cause of lively satisfaction to those associated with the College both in the present and in the past to find it flourishing with unimpaired vigour after a life of a hundred years and to see it alike the pride of this historic city and of its professors and students.

Many of the latter are now taking their part in public affairs in India directly assisting in the administration or working for the welfare of the people in India in other spheres. Among them it is a pleasure to meet again to day Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who has been closely associated with my Government as a valued member of my Executive Council and has subse-
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His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the second Legislative Assembly at the Council Chamber, Dehli.

quently rendered conspicuous service to India in the Imperial Conference. I join with you in regretting the death of Raja Permanand who was Minister of these Provinces in charge of Education and whose father played a prominent part in furthering the interests of this College.

Your College is to be envied in the wealth of historical, artistic and literary associations which surround it at Agra. This was the ancient seat of the Lodi Kings ; it was here also that Akbar built his Capital and laid the foundations of the great imperial system of the Moguls. Around you are the historic buildings which a succession of Emperors, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, have embellished with the triumphs of Hindu and Moslem artistic skill. The peerless Taj, in which the highest expression of the genius of the architect is wedded to most delicate skill of the jeweller, inspires your studies with the ideal of perfection. It was in Agra that Abdul Fazl, the historian of Akbar and Faizi, the great poet, were born. Ghalib also dwelt here. I can conceive of no environment more congenial to study or more stimulating to intellectual activity.

Before I close and proceed to take part of ceremonies to be performed, let me thank the Trustees for the very kind expressions in which they have referred to me ; I wish the College all success. May the decades as they come ever find it strong to perform its beneficent purpose, true to its ideals and traditions and with an ever-growing influence and reputation in the city of Agra and in these Provinces.

31st Jan.
uary
1924. HIS EXCELLENCE THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING
OF THE SECOND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT THE
COUNCIL CHAMBER, DELHI.

Gentlemen,—When I last addressed you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, the last Session of the first Legislative

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the second Legislative Assembly at the Council Chamber, Delhi.

Assembly was at its close. A new Legislative Assembly has since been constituted ; and the Members of the Council of State and of the Assembly are now about to enter upon the labours of the Delhi Session, to face new responsibilities and to strive to solve fresh problems in the best interests of India.

Let me in the first place extend a welcome to all the Members. I see many who have already notable achievements to their credit in the annals of the Indian Legislature. They need no special word of welcome and encouragement from me because they are aware of the high regard I entertain for their services ; and in my address of last July, I set forth my view of the supreme importance of their work to the development of self-governing institutions in India and of the great value of the influence and traditions established by them. I miss, with regret, from this assemblage the faces of others (of the same fold) who had rendered yeoman service to the cause of constitutional progress. I see many new Members before me. I wish them welcome and shall watch their work in their new environment with keen interest. In their new responsibilities they will find the fullest opportunity for the display of the highest patriotism and for the noblest work for the service of India.

Before I pass to review the work before the Legislature and the internal affairs of India, let me dwell on a few questions of importance outside India, but closely affecting her welfare. Progress towards economic recuperation in Europe proceeds but slowly and the reaction of commercial dislocation still affects India together with the rest of the world. Nevertheless, there are indications of activity and trade revival in India ; and there is good ground for hope that her period of convalescence will be more brief in duration and marked by more rapid and steady advance to strength than elsewhere.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the second Legislative Assembly at the Council Chamber, Delhi.

A Treaty was signed with Turkey at Lausanne in July last and its ratification by the signatory powers at an early date is anticipated. Tension has been relieved in the Middle East ; and the Treaty has been welcomed by responsible Indian Muslim opinion as affording a solution to many problems exercising their minds.

On the Northern boundary of India the traditions of amity subsisting for a century past with her neighbour Nepal, have found a happy issue in a Treaty signed at Khatmandu in December last which is a legitimate cause of satisfaction to both the parties.

Beyond the North-West Frontier, India has another neighbour closely connected with her. The relations of India with the Kingdom of Afghanistan are conducted by His Majesty's Government and, as you are aware, a treaty of neighbourly relations exists between the two Governments.

I have read assertions recently in the press that these relations have been strained. There have been allegations on the one hand of the entertainment of aggressive feelings towards Afghanistan by His Majesty's Government and on the other hand of an unreasonable attitude on the part of that country. Our relations with Afghanistan, as I have said, are in the charge of His Majesty's Government. But there has been speculation in the Indian press regarding these rumours, and considerations of propinquity and past intimate associations evoke a warm solicitude in India for the welfare of Afghanistan and for the maintenance of relations of amity. It is right in order to remove misconception in India that I should state that these rumours as to the alleged intention of His Majesty's Government and the alleged attitude of the Afghan Government are without foundation.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the second Legislative Assembly at the Council Chamber, Delhi.

Certain questions have however been under discussion between His Majesty's Government and Afghanistan. Those discussions are now nearing a satisfactory solution. The discussions had their origin in outrages notably those at Barshore and Spinchilla committed on our frontier by Wazirs domiciled in Afghanistan. They were complicated by the execution of these outrages from a base in Afghanistan and by the removal of loot to Afghan territory. In some cases also the perpetrators were deserters from British Indian militia units who had found employment in Afghanistan. The raids were serious in their results. In addition to private losses, four British officers and 81 Indian Sepoys of our regular and militia Indian units lost their lives. Subsequent to these events, two Afghan subjects murdered two unarmed British officers near Landi Kotal and fled to Afghansitan where they were arrested by the order of their Government, but later escaped from custody. Meanwhile the members of the Kohat gang, who were not Afghan subjects, the men who had murdered Mrs. Ellis and abducted her daughter, made good their escape to Afghan territory.

In reply to the vigorous representations made by the British Government, the Afghan Government admitted its obligations, furnished ample assurances and took action to implement them. Its action at first however proved abortive. The lives of British Frontier officers and the security of British Indian subjects depended upon the fulfilment of these assurances. But on our side His Majesty's Minister exercised patience and forbearance, as he was aware that the difficulties of the Afghan Government in securing effective results were greater than can generally be realised.

Before the close of the year his representations were successful; the outrages to which I have made allusion were

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completely liquidated. During the present month the active steps taken by the Government of Afghanistan, after inviting the co-operation of our officers, have ended in the rounding up of the Kohat gang, who are in process of transportation to Turkestan. During the last few days Afghan troops have come in contact with the men charged with the Landi Kotal murders and in the encounter one of them named Ardali has been killed, though the other Daud Shah has effected his escape. Information has also been received that the militia deserters above-mentioned have been dismissed from Afghan service. As delicate negotiations were in progress you will realise that it was not possible to make a statement about these developments at an earlier date.

Of the other murderous outrages committed on our frontier, in one case suspicion fortified by constructive evidence points to members of the Kohat gang having been among the perpetrators of the murders at Parachinar, while the murder of Major Finnis and of the two Indians accompanying him is still under investigation. Two of those implicated in the crime have been arrested and every attempt is being made to bring those responsible for the outrage to account.

Before I close my observations regarding the position of affairs on our Frontiers, let me acquaint you with the progress achieved in the solution of the problem of Waziristan. We have continued to pursue the policy adopted by us after most careful consideration and with the approval of His Majesty's Government. We occupy a dominating position at Razmak in the country of the Utmanzai Wazirs with our regular troops at the request of the Wazirs themselves. A circular road more than 70 miles in length, running from Idak in the Tochi past Razmak and through Mahsud country to Jandola, has been efficiently constructed in a short space of

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time. A second road fringing the Mahsud country on the south-east is under construction from Jandola to Serwekai. These roads have been constructed in the main by the tribes. They are protected throughout the greater part of their length only by irregular forces—scouts and locally recruited Khassadars ; and under their protection they are beginning to carry the trade of the country and to exercise the civilising and pacific influences which are the special and beneficent characteristics of a road policy. Except for a few technical troops, there are now no regular troops in Mahsud country. Military expenditure has been steadily reduced ; and more settled conditions on the border offer good prospects of a more than temporary success for our policy. We should be unduly sanguine if we declared that our difficulties are at an end. Nevertheless in our judgment, arrived at after much investigation and deliberation, this policy spells the best hope for progressive improvement in the future.

You will remember that when I last addressed the Legislature, the position of Indians in the Empire was a cause of serious concern to me and my Government no less than to Indian opinion generally. Since then, except in directions to which I shall subsequently refer, the results of the labours of the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference have undoubtedly improved the situation. The Premiers of four Dominions have shown deep sympathy and expressed their earnest desire to remove the disabilities affecting Indians. There is good ground for hope that the attainment of a solution acceptable to India is only a matter of comparatively short time, except possibly in the case of Canada where there are some special difficulties. India most cordially appreciates their sympathy and encouragement ; and I speak for India when I say

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that this recognition of India's position in the Empire is the source of high satisfaction to her.

The position in South Africa, however, is different. The Union Government has reaffirmed its unwillingness to adopt the attitude of the other Dominions ; and in addition proposals for legislation which are expected in practice to affect Indians adversely have been brought forward. The Natal Township Franchise Amending Act, vetoed on previous occasions by the Governor-General of South Africa in Council, has again been passed in the Natal Legislative Council ; and a Class Areas Bill has been published by the Union Government. Vigorous representations have been made by my Government which, we trust, will have success in regard to the Township Act. The Union Government have given an assurance that it is their desire and intention to apply the measure, the Class Areas Bill, if it becomes law, in a spirit of fairness to the interests and reasonable requirements of Indians. My Government, however, whilst welcoming the assurance, cannot rest satisfied with this position ; and we shall continue our efforts to persuade the Union Government to incline to our view. We are aware of the strength of public opinion in India upon this subject and shall strive to give effect to it by all legitimate means within our powers.

The position as regards the Crown Colonies has materially changed owing to the acceptance of the proposal for a Crown Colonies Committee to be appointed by my Government which will confer with the Colonial Office on all pending questions including Kenya.

The late Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, has promised that there shall be full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Committee appoint-

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ed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. I hope for nothing but benefit from these discussions ; and we shall gratefully take the fullest advantage of the opportunity offered.

As regards Kenya the views of my Government were explained at length by me in my last address to the Legislature and formed the subject of a resolution issued by my Government in August last. While acknowledging the difficulties of the issues and the great care and attention His Majesty's Government devoted to India's claims, we did not conceal our feelings of disappointment at the result ; and we reserved the right to make further representations, with a view to re-opening these decisions, when a legitimate opportunity offers.

At the Imperial Conference His Majesty's Government have given an assurance that, while they can offer no prospect of the decisions being modified—"Careful attention will be given to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make to the Secretary of State for the Colonies". This assurance gives us the opportunity we have been seeking and is a substantial gain. Following upon the decisions, statutory action has been taken as regards the Franchise question in Kenya. The Kenya Government has treated Indians on the same lines as Europeans and granted adult suffrage. Given communal Franchise, this method of working may be accepted, and it has now become law. It is open to our Committee, however, subsequently to make representations setting forth our contention that there are grounds for an increase in the number of seats to Indians and that in our view all voters should be registered on a common electoral roll. We shall continue to

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press our views by means of the constitutional channel opened to us by the assurance of His Majesty's Government.

As regards immigration, the decision of His Majesty's Government was stated in the White Paper in the terms of a general principle only ; and His Majesty's Government issued in addition an instruction to the Governor of Kenya to "explore the matter further on his return to the Colony and in concert with the Governor of Uganda to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for giving effect to that amount of control of immigration which the economic interests of the Natives of both dependencies require".

When we received a copy of the Ordinance, which had been drafted by the Governments of Kenya and Uganda and submitted to the Imperial Government, we took immediate steps to urge the postponement of the introduction and consideration of the Bill until the Government of India were able fully to present their objections ; at the same time we strongly pressed that the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India should also have an opportunity of examining the question of the restrictions on immigration embodied in the Bill. These representations were accompanied by a preliminary statement of our objections to the provisions of the Bill. We received in reply an assurance by telegram from Lord Peel, the Secretary of State, that the introduction of the Bill had been postponed at the instance of the Duke of Devonshire, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His Majesty's present Government have now informed me that the late Secretary of State for the Colonies found the Ordinance unsatisfactory and returned it to East Africa to be redrafted. At the same time he called upon the Government of Kenya for certain information regarding immigration and for an expla-

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natory statement respecting the method proposed for the administration of immigration measures.

His Majesty's present Minister for the Colonies will await the reply to these enquiries and the revised draft of the Ordinance and will be guided by further information received when these documents are before him. Meanwhile he has given me an assurance that ample opportunity will be afforded to my Government to express their views, and that he will give his earnest attention to any representations which the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make regarding the measure whether in the form of a Bill or of an enacted Ordinance.

I desire to express my deep obligations to the late and to the present Secretary of State for the Colonies for the consideration given to the representations of my Government which have received the continuous support of Lord Peel and his successor. The steps taken are strong testimony to the sense of justice and fairness with which His Majesty's Government have been animated in dealing with the proposals.

As regards events in India, the two murderous outrages which have recently occurred in Bengal have caused as deep concern to my Government as they have excited reprobation and abhorrence in the minds of all good citizens of every community. It is the primary duty of Government to vindicate the law against such outrages and to bring their perpetrators to justice; and my Government is entitled to look for the moral support and active co-operation of all sections of the public in the task. We owe to the families of those who have been victims our deep and respectful sympathy, but we have an even wider duty—the duty to safeguard others from similar calamity. My Government have for some time been

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aware of the existence of conspiracies having as their object the assassination of public servants with communist agencies directed by organisations outside India. It was out of question to permit these sinister designs to advance on their way to results that no process of law can remedy. Our officers, on whom devolve the dangerous task of the prevention and detection of crime, must look to us for at least that measure of safety, so far as the law can give it, which their own services secure to the public. Punishment in cases of outrages of this nature is not an efficient substitute for prevention. It became necessary to take steps to confine certain of the persons concerned in these conspiracies under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. The necessity for these measures has recently received tragic confirmation in the murder of Mr. Day and the injuries to three Indians who attempted to stop the flight of his assailant. I trust that these steps to combat an evil which not only destroys innocent lives but is a menace to society as a whole and a grave obstacle to political progress, will command the approval of all those to whom security and progress are objects of vital and common concern.

Need I assert that it was only with the greatest reluctance that I assented to the use of these measures for the protection of the public and in the public interest. I am firmly impressed by the consideration that it is essential strictly to confine these special and extraordinary measures to extreme cases of emergency; and I fully appreciate and sympathise with the views of those who wish to protect the liberty of the subject with strict exactitude. In these days the strong light of publicity, both in the Legislatures and the Press, is brought to bear upon the use of emergency measures of this character; and this in itself acts as a safeguard against their abuse. Before any action

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is taken, I and my Government submit these cases to a scrupulously careful examination. If we decide that a case for arrest has been established and no other course is possible, in view of the serious character of the emergency, a warrant is issued. After the arrests in Bengal were made, as you are aware, all the documents and evidence relating to each individual have been placed before two Judges* of the High Court for the purpose of thoroughly sifting the material on which action was taken, of submitting it to the technical tests of judicial knowledge and experience and of framing recommendations regarding each case. I shall myself re-examine the case of each man concerned with the greatest care in the light of the recommendations of the Judges in each case and with the assistance of their detailed scrutiny of the evidence and the documents. In this manner the greatest possible precautions will be exercised to secure that no individual shall run the risk of suffering injustice because of the gravity of a situation ; and his right to an impartial investigation of a charge will never be imperilled by the immediate necessity for measures of prevention.

I attach great importance to the labours of two Committees at present engaged in the examination of certain aspects of the administration of the law. The first, which has been dealing with the subject of the Bar in India, is reaching the conclusion of its labours. The general question of the creation of an Indian Bar and special features of the varying systems in different Provinces in India regulating the appointment, practice and privileges of Advocates and Vakils attracted considerable interest among the members of the late Assembly and were

* His Excellency subsequently authorised the Hon'ble Member to make a statement in the Assembly that he had used the words " of the High Court " by inadvertence and that what he wished to convey was that the documents and evidence had been placed before two judicial officers.

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the subject of a number of private Bills, Resolutions and questions. The whole problem has now been examined by an expert and representative committee; and their recommendations will be of special interest.

The second Committee is entering upon the task of the examination of civil judicial procedure with a view to increasing the efficiency of the machinery, and in particular of expediting the technical processes for arriving at the final decision in civil suits and for securing to the successful litigant the fruits of his decree. Reproach for delay in these operations has been levelled at our administration; it is essential that for ends of justice and efficiency all causes for criticism should be removed. Any improvement, which it may be found possible to effect, will, I need scarcely point out, be of the greatest value to all litigants and as regards commercial cases will have reactions of importance on the general commercial and industrial prosperity of India.

Another question of first importance connected with the administration is the problem of retrenchment. Though less than a year has passed since Lord Inchcape presented the report of his Committee, I am glad to inform you that most of the recommendations of that Committee have already been carried into effect; and the great benefit of reduction of expenditure will again be patent when the budget comes under discussion in the Legislature. Considering the far reaching nature of the changes involved by the recommendations, the expedition with which they have been put into effect is to be commended. As you are aware the reduction of troops as recommended by my Government on the basis of the report of Lord Inchcape's Committee was accepted in full by His Majesty's Government save in respect of the British cavalry regiments. As regards those regiments

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His Majesty's Government agreed to withdraw two, but not the third; as a result of discussion however His Majesty's Government have agreed to pay £75,000 annually as a contribution for the maintenance of the third regiment for a period of two years. At the end of that time, if the military situation is still unchanged, it will be open to my Government to raise again the question of the retention of the third cavalry regiment.

In addressing myself to the internal affairs of India I would remind you that a change of Government has happened in England within the last few days. In consequence, ordinary courtesy and also constitutional propriety render it incumbent upon me to refrain from some observations upon Indian affairs I should otherwise be tempted to make, until there has been opportunity for discussion with the new Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government. If therefore,—contrary to your expectation—I do not express myself upon some matters, you will understand the reason. But it need not prevent my making some reference to the Reforms and the work before the Legislature.

With the institution of a Legislative Council in Coorg and the grant of representation in the Assembly to Ajmere-Merwara, the reformed constitution has become an integral part of the institutions in the smallest administrative units in this country. The attendance at the polls and the close contests between candidates during the recent Election demonstrate the increasing interest which the system claims from the Electorate and the country at large. Within the walls of the Council Chambers parliamentary traditions have begun to be established. Representative institutions are being built up on a firm basis. The people of India are taking a share in the maintenance and activities of government which stands—as all civilised administrations must stand

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—for security against external aggression, for internal security by the maintenance of the law and the preservation of order, for the protection of the rights and liberties of individual citizens of every class and creed, for the development of the material and political welfare of the country and for ordered continuity of progress.

As you are aware, the policy of the Reforms in India was introduced with the approval of all political parties in England and all stand committed to it as the fundamental policy in relation to India of His Majesty's Government, however constituted, and apart from other political controversies which mark lines of division in Parliament. It is not uninstructive in this connection to pause for a moment and reflect upon the succession of Prime Ministers and of Governments that has taken place in England since I became Viceroy nearly three years ago. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has so recently attained his present exalted office, is the fourth Prime Minister with whom I have served during my period of office as Viceroy. None of these Governments has wavered one moment regarding the policy of the Reforms in India. Each in succession has immediately accepted the policy of the Reforms as the rock foundation of British policy in India. Governments may, and doubtless always will, vary as regards details of administration and may differ in opinion regarding the stages of progression and period of advance ; but the cardinal policy of the Reforms remains the same for all. It is the policy of the British nation and not of any party. I commend these facts to the consideration of those—if there be any—who may still regard the promises held out as illusory and never to be fulfilled.

I came to India charged with the solemn duty of carrying out those Reforms, inspired by the earnest desire to make them

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a success and imbued with the firm determination to carry forward the conception along the road to further stages in its ultimate development. I have anxiously watched the consolidation of the foundations. I have seen the first courses of the edifice of parliamentary institutions and traditions and I stand pledged to carry onward the erection of the structure and to continue the building in the full hope of its ultimate completion. But be it remembered that the successful issue of the Reforms cannot depend solely upon the intentions and actions of His Majesty's Government, or the Viceroy, or the Government of India, or of all combined. The future must largely depend upon the people of India and the actions of the Legislature.

A first stage was passed when the first Assembly was dissolved. My own appreciation of the value of the achievements of the first Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State was expressed in my prorogation speech. We have now entered upon a second stage by the election of the new Assembly. I look and hope for continuity of the new Assembly of the same valuable tradition, for continuity is an essential condition of well-ordered political progress. A considerable advance has been made on the road. Many difficulties have been successfully overcome and obstacles surmounted by the Legislature. Differences have occurred, but I am convinced that these have left no bitterness in their wake. Opinions varied but there was a common objective, the advancement of India. To-day marks the opening of a new stage ; it chances to happen at a specially important moment and when the future actions of this Legislature will be fraught with the deepest interest and significance to India. There is now a Government in England which numbers among its members some of the most ardent supporters of the Reforms and the most sympathetic friends of

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India. There is now a spirit in India, if I am to credit all I read, which is bent upon destruction of the Reforms unless it immediately attains that which it is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith, that is, complete Dominion self-government. I am well aware that words are often used in the heat of political conflict which perhaps convey more than is really intended. Moreover, it is but natural that when faced with the responsibility of action there should be deeper reflection upon its true significance and probable consequences. I cannot foretell the future ; I do not know what it holds ; but I cannot conceal from you that the political situation in India in its constitutional aspects causes me some anxiety for the future of the Reforms. I should be doing a disservice to India if I failed at this moment to give expression to my views formed not upon a hasty or cursory survey, but as the result of a profound study and reflection as I can bring to bear upon a subject of supreme interest to me. In October last I sough a note of warning which I must now repeat in the friendliest spirit but with all gravity I spoke with the object of presenting the picture of the future, as I then saw it, to those in India who had not failed in their support of the Reforms policy, although they had on occasions felt bound to oppose the actions of Government. You may remember that I adverted to the possible prospect, according to the then indication of events, of a check, which I deplored, in the onward progress of the Reforms. The possibility of this check has come nearer to us, indeed it is in a degree already with us in some aspects, although it has not yet happened and, I devoutly trust, it will not happen in the Central Legislature. If the position should become more acute in the Provinces, the Local Governments may rely upon my fullest support. I still wonder—as I wondered in October—what purpose beneficial to India will be served by any course destined to

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destroy the continuity of progress in the Reform movement. No change in the constitution can be effected by legitimate and peaceful methods save with the assent of the British Parliament, that is, the British people. The British Parliament has already set up the machinery now in operation for some time past. It is working with efficiency through well ordered processes towards the creation of responsible self-government. It is difficult to conceive that any responsible body of opinion can ignore the purpose it has in view, or can desire to check its creative activities and to risk the injury which must result to the fine fabric already in process of being woven upon its looms. Nevertheless, I gather that there is a disposition in some quarters to believe that the hands of the British Parliament can be forced, and that a situation may be created which may impair the Reforms and thus cause Parliament to act contrary to their desire and better judgment. It may appear easy to impair and even to destroy and to re-create. Doubtless, destruction is always easier than construction. Violent revolutions have destroyed the institutions of nations. Neglect and apathy in other cases have induced their decay and extinction ; but I beg you to remember that when influences of this nature have been set in motion, restoration and re-creation become infinitely more difficult and sometimes impossible. These influences make no appeal to the British people and the British Parliament would emphatically repudiate and reject them. Rather rest the real hopes of the consummation of India's desires in the promises already made and in the intentions already manifested and to be manifested by that great champion of liberties, the British Parliament. As a devoted friend of India, I am convinced that action based on reason and justice will alone prevail with the British people and will prove the only safe road to the ultimate goal to be attained. I feel sure that you will keep steadfastly in

*Ceremony of Unveiling the War Memorial to the 15th Cavalry Brigade on
6th March 1924.*

mind in the course of the deliberations of this Session that the eyes of all friends of reform will be fixed upon the harvest which the Legislature will sow and reap. It is of the greatest moment to India at this juncture that her elected representatives, in the responsibilities of their present position, should make a wise choice as regards the course they will pursue. I do not doubt that they are imbued by those ideals which have from the outset inspired this Legislature and that they seek the welfare of India. I earnestly pray that calm judgment and a desire for mutual understanding and good-will may characterise this Session of the Legislature and may thus carry India further forward to the fulfilment of her legitimate aims and aspirations.

6th
March
1924.

CEREMONY OF UNVEILING THE WAR MEMORIAL TO THE
15TH CAVALRY BRIGADE ON 6TH MARCH 1924 AT
RAISINA, DELHI—WHEN PERFORMING THIS CEREMONY
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING
SPEECH:—

No ceremony can make a closer appeal to me than that which I have been invited to perform to-day. The distinguished services of the officers and men of the 15th Imperial Service Cavalry Brigade in the Great War are justly treasured in the Indian States and by the units represented here as among their noblest and most sacred traditions; and we are assembled to give to posterity a memorial to preserve and enshrine for future generations the moving story of the gallantry and sacrifice of those members of this Brigade who laid down their lives for the Empire.

*Ceremony of Unveiling the War Memorial to the 15th Cavalry Brigade on
6th March 1924.*

In company with the representatives of units who fought by their side and who shared with them the privations and dangers of long and arduous campaigns in foreign lands far from their homes, I pay my tribute to their memory.

The exploits of the Brigade, the distinction they won, the leading part they played in the protection of the highway from Britain to the East and in the route and capture of the opposing forces in Palestine are pages of first importance in the annals of the Great War. They are of vivid interest as a record of human achievement and endeavour. There are few parallels in military history to the great advance movement, in which this Brigade took part, extending from the sea to the Hedjaz Railway and ending in complete success and victory at Aleppo. This campaign takes a highly honoured place among the great achievements of the armies of the Empire ; and all praise is due to those who had a share in the successful issue of these operations. To their deeds this memorial will stand as an enduring testimony. It marks also, by the sacrifices it recalls, the strength of the ties of loyalty and devotion which bind the Indian Princes and their States and subjects to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor. It proclaims that spirit of mutual trust, that high purpose, that sense of common attachment and endeavour which animates the different units of the Empire to work together for the common good of the Empire as a whole and for the greater happiness and peace of humanity.

Before I unveil the memorial, let me express my obligations to the Governments of Hyderabad, Mysore and Jodhpur for their munificence in erecting this memorial at Delhi. It will recall in after years the labours of the Indian States, in close co-operation and harmony with the Government of India, for the service of the Empire in the hour of her need.

7th
March
1924.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CONVOCATION OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY ON THE 7TH MARCH 1924.

I have listened to Dr. Gour's address with very great interest. It is a source of deep satisfaction to me as well as to many of the friends of the Delhi University that the difficulties which have confronted the first year of its life have found Dr. Gour undaunted and have stimulated rather than sapped his energies in its interests. He has, I am glad to note, succeeded in communicating his enthusiasm and activity on behalf of the University to many others ; and I join him in grateful appreciation of the services of those gentlemen who have helped the University with donations and endowments and who work unceasingly for its welfare and advancement.

It is a good sign when old friends continue their interests and support ; and I know that the interest of Sir Muhammad Shafi in the growth of the child in whose natal ceremonies he took so considerable a part and of Sir Narasimha Sarma and the officers of the Education Department of the Government of India is a great stimulus and source of encouragement to the University.

I believe in continuous and steady progress. I am not disheartened if it is slow ; it is all the more likely to be surely consolidated. Dr. Gour has put before us a most enlightening statement of laudable growth in many directions and of increasing interest in the University and its work. He has also been careful to point out directions in which it is open to the University to expand and has given food for consideration as regards schemes for development and improvement. These will require examination ; but this review will be of very great service in the final determination of lines of advance, of practical methods of perfecting the educational system of the University and of increasing its influence and power for good.

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I need scarcely tell you that I should welcome the institution of a Law Faculty at this University during the period of office of myself, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Dr. Gour.

It is not possible to say more at this moment than that the indications are that it will be established; but no definite statement can be made until the stipulated conditions are fulfilled, which I trust will soon happen.

I have expressed appreciation of the University at work; and in the Tournaments recently concluded I had the opportunity also of seeing the University at play. It is a source of satisfaction to me that it has been arranged to give the students a share in the University Training Corps Scheme. I believe the scheme to possess great potentialities and to offer a very valuable system of training which should make an appeal to the students as a whole. I shall watch the genesis of the Corps with the keenest interest. The training contemplated in the system provides a school of discipline, efficiency and of mental and physical alertness second to none.

If Dr. Gour in his address sounded any note of depression, it was on the subject of finance. In view of the present leaniness of our purse, we cannot deny that there are grounds for the pessimistic tone of Dr. Gour's statement; but I find comfort in the thought that the heroes of many famous epics and romances were sprung from what are described as poor but honest parents.

Financial stringency may delay the full attainment of the academic ideals of the Delhi University. It may place some difficulties in their way. It may render the path to the desired end less easy to travel; but I do not believe that it can seriously impede or stifle their ultimate realisation.

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It is of supreme importance that among those connected with the University there should be no doubt about these ideals and that there should be no confusion regarding the aim in view. It is essential that the Members of the University should be united in the work to which they have put their hand; that they should see their object clear before them, shining like a guiding star, with a light undimmed by the clouds of selfish motives or sectional schism. If they are truly convinced of the value of these ideals, if they strive without ceasing for their fulfilment with all the earnestness at their command, their enthusiasm by the sheer force of their own conviction will be communicated to others and create an atmosphere of support and sympathy which will purge the path of progress of half its difficulties.

University education, in my view, has a double aspect. It has an obvious influence for good in the case of the individual; but it has an even more supreme importance for the country as a whole. The Universities in India set the standards of national morals and character. A heavy responsibility has been laid upon them. It is their task not only to disseminate knowledge and to provide the youth of India with a training for life, but they have a wider duty in their responsibility for the intellectual welfare of the people of India as a whole. It is for them to strive to build and elevate character, to lift up the mind of the people to a higher intellectual plane and to set pure standards of taste. Every people has soul. But where higher education is undeveloped, the heart cannot express what it contains and the particular genius of a nation may remain dormant and devoid of true influence. By education in the right sense, however, thought is illumined and the mind of a people is equipped to give out the best qualities of its soul.

The Universities are the trustees of higher education. They are the guardians of its hall-mark. They must jealously watch

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that its excellence suffers no adulteration, and that those who desire it do not receive a shadow in place of the real substance. They must fearlessly attack and expose worthless substitutes for higher education and maintain unimpaired the high estimation in which their honours and degrees should be held. Popularity is not difficult of attainment; but a false popularity based on an imitation of real achievement is a calamitous heritage. Tinsel may glitter; but it has no value as compared with gold. The volume of production will avail nothing if the quality of the output falls short of the best standards. In my view these are the ideals to be kept before us in our conception of University work in relation to the country and the people as a whole.

As regards the individual, I need not discuss the many points at which a sound University training makes contact with the life of the individual. Nothing can compare in its effect on character with the influence of teaching, of environment and of interchange of thought at the University in the most impressionable period of a young man's life. His studies lead him into fields of knowledge hitherto unknown and untrodden by him; the book of human research and experience opens its pages to him. The secrets of the keenest minds are revealed to him. He can follow step by step the lessons that the finest intellects of the world have drawn from events and from phenomena. He can examine the processes of scientific discovery. The mysteries of cause and the certainties of effect are made plain to him. He can trace the delicate mental exercise of reasoning by which theories and solutions, once unknown but now widely accepted, were first established. The pastures of literature and poetry are free for him to wander in. Much of what he acquires in his studies, he retains throughout life as a permanent store of interest and delight. It remains a resource from which no circumstance in his life hereafter can wholly

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divorce him and which will continue to occupy and please his mind at every age ; but even more important is the permanent effect of those studies on the mind itself. Few, who have really tried to get the best out of University teaching, can leave their studies at the end of their academic career without securing, it may be in a greater or it may be in a less degree, the quality of mental balance. Training will have stamped on the mind the danger of empirical assumptions and of ill-considered decisions. The student will have learnt that in almost every case there are two sides to a question ; there is more than one view ; there are causes and there are effects ; there are reasons for action and against action ; there are possibilities of miscalculation and error ; and until these different aspects have been calmly examined and tested, it is unwise to arrive at a hasty conclusion. It is from this mental process that judgment is formed ; and it is by the exercise of judgment that citizens are enabled to work in their lives for the progress and welfare of their country and for the increase of justice and peace among humanity. Intemperate enthusiasms and unreasoning prejudice have wrought enough havoc in the world. University education has its noblest task in spreading abroad the qualities of mental tolerance and balanced judgment which alone can check these disastrous tendencies.

Of great importance likewise is the knowledge which students at the University acquire of value and use of words. The great influence of words and language on action is not always realised. Among the commonest features of experience are the unfortunate results flowing from the use of words inadequately or obscurely expressing intention and thought. Inattention to the exact meaning and value of the written or the spoken word often causes even the best conceived projects to miscarry. Language once used remains with all its power

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Convocation of the Delhi University on the 7th March 1924.

for causing misunderstanding or for harm. The first impression it creates can never wholly be obliterated. No subsequent emendation can entirely correct or remove its effect. Scarcely less calamitous is the effect of exaggerated language, of using words of a value out of all proportion to the scale of thought to be expressed, of advance without cause into the region of superlatives for praise or blame, of distortion, by undue stress in communication, of the proper complexion and exact force of thoughts. The logical result of habits of inexactitude and hyperbole is that by the daily and habitual waste of the treasury of words on unworthy objects no reserve remains to give the proper value to a purpose of real magnitude and importance. Arguments of value lose their force because the writer or speaker, within the knowledge of those he addresses, has been in the habit of using no less cogent and highly coloured phrases in regard to trivial and unworthy subjects. It is given to few to attain eminence in style; perfect happiness of expression and clarity of form are rarely found; but a University will lose in reputation if its students cannot ordinarily take away from it the power to state a case without confusion and to put it with the requisite degree of emphasis and force and to select words to suit the subject and not to overcolour or overload the phraseology they employ. After some considerable experience in the world let me assert that clear, sensible and temperate language fitted to the circumstances of a case ordinarily makes a stronger appeal both to reason and sympathy than the most ornate and extravagant diction.

These reflections led me by another road to the same advice with which Dr. Gour has so fitly concluded his address. "Follow the light of Truth wherever you may find it." Lay hold on Truth and you will also gain strength and courage—Courage in thought and courage in action—for those who follow

Investiture of His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur on 8th March 1924.

truth have invariably found that truth fears nothing but concealment. The pursuit of truth makes for strength of character. Youth that leaves this University imbued with the determination to seek and cultivate truth will thus help to equip India with men of learning who will not permit momentary popularity and the plaudits of the multitude to deflect them from actions which their judgment has taught them to believe are alone consistent with their standards and ideals.

8th March INVESTITURE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF BAHAWAL-
PUR ON 8TH MARCH 1924.

His Excellency made the following speech :—

Your Highness.—This is the third occasion on which I have had an opportunity of investing a young Prince with full ruling powers. It is a pleasure to me that I have been able to pay my first visit to Bahawalpur for so important a ceremony. Your Highness has expressed regret that Her Excellency has been unable to accompany me. I can assure you that it would have given her great pleasure if she had been able to be present on this historic occasion.

Your Highness succeeded to the *Gaddi* of your ancestors nearly 18 years ago. The period of the minority administration conducted on behalf of Your Highness has been one of steady progress under the fostering care of the Punjab Government up to two years ago and thereafter under the general supervision of the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States. Your Highness has good reason to be grateful to the Punjab Government and to Colonel Minchin for the care which they have bestowed upon your training, upon the well-being of your

*Investiture of His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur on 8th March
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subjects and upon the efficiency of the administration of the Bahawalpur State.

The economic progress of the State has been very remarkable. The revenue is now more than double what it was in the time of Your Highness' grand-father, and the vast Sutlej Valley Project, one of the greatest irrigation works that have been undertaken in India, promises to place Bahawalpur among the wealthiest States in India. The share of the Bahawalpur Durbar in financing this project amounts to over nine crores of rupees and it is anticipated that when the canal is completed more than two million acres of land will be brought under perennial irrigation. A project of such magnitude entails grave problems of finance and economics. It will also be necessary to secure some hundreds of thousands of colonists of a good type and to develop the country by feeder railways and roads. The population of the State will increase rapidly and with it Your Highness' responsibilities and anxieties. Difficulties will have to be faced but I am sure that Your Highness and the members of your administration will surmount every difficulty with courage and resource. I am informed that Your Highness is showing the keenest interest in the scheme. I hope that you will continue to display the same interest and enthusiasm that you have hitherto shown and you may rest assured that the Government of India and its officers will always be ready to help you and the Bahawalpur State through the critical period upon which you are now about to enter. Your Highness is personally well-equipped for the duties which lie before you. You have been actively associated with the administration for more than a year already, during which, I learn, you have displayed both energy and ability. You have, as befits the traditions of your ancestors, shown special interest in the Military Department and your period of military training with the Central India Horse has given you an experience which will be

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useful to you in dealing with the problems connected with the State Forces now in process of reorganisation. Since the treaty of 1833 between the East India Company and Nawab Bahawal Khan III was signed, the history of Bahawalpur has been one of close co-operation with the forces of the British Crown, in the Multan Campaign, in Egypt, in Tirah, in Somaliland, on the Frontier against the Mohmands and the Afridis, and finally in the Great War when Bahawalpur troops were employed both in Egypt and Mesopotamia and the State contributed generously towards War Funds. Should necessity unhappily arise on future similar occasions I am assured that the reorganised Forces of the State will add fresh laurels to their previous record.

It gives me great pleasure to announce that His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved the promotion on this day of Your Highness to the Honorary Rank of Captain in the Army.

A young man of 19 who becomes a Ruler enjoys one of the noblest opportunities, and shoulders one of the greatest responsibilities. Your Highness, you receive your powers in days of improvement and progress when there is a fiercer light upon the *Gaddi* and a greater disposition to criticise the actions of authorities. There is therefore an evermore urgent need for that wise, just and sympathetic administration that has ever been the distinction and pride of a good Ruler. It is no light burden that you are now to take up. The happiness and prosperity of three-quarters of a million souls are committed to your charge. Your Highness has given eloquent expression to your desire for their advancement, and to your conviction that there can be no permanent well-being without a firm basis of education. It is of good omen that you should have learned that truth so young, and I will only add that in the moulding of your people's future lies the making of your renown. I congratulate you and wish you cordially all success in your Rule.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT A FAREWELL
BANQUET HELD AT VICEREGAL LODGE ON THURSDAY
(20TH MARCH) WHILE PROPOSING SIR MALCOLM HAILEY'S
HEALTH.

20th
March
1924.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The Viceroy is called upon to perform many duties, but of these perhaps the most melancholy is that of saying good-bye to a friend and colleague who has been closely associated with him in his labours. To-night we are assembled for the purpose of doing honour and of paying a high tribute of admiration to Sir Malcolm Hailey.

My heart would be heavier but for the thought that he leaves us only to return in another and more exalted sphere. But let him not think that, sitting in that high chair at the head of affairs in the Punjab, he will be immune from discussion. We shall still meet in Simla and perhaps incidentally I may mention problems familiar to him in his former capacity of Home Member. A wise and beneficent Providence has ordained that often regrets are compensated by a new pleasure, and I look forward to the pleasure of having him year after year in Simla and at no great distance. It reminds me as I speak to you of the days of my youth, of the early days when dear devoted women waited upon me after I had savoured a surfeit of sweetmeats and tempted me with a spoonful of jam in which lay concealed a powder with a nasty taste. The Punjab is, in this instance, the spoonful of jam, and that Sir Malcolm Hailey is about to leave us is the powder.

Nothing—not even your closest attention—would stimulate me to recount to you to-night the achievements of Sir Malcolm Hailey, during nearly 30 years of service in India. I shrink from bringing the blush to his modest cheek. I shall content myself with few observations, for Sir Malcolm is well known among us. I think of him as he was nearly 30 years ago, young and slim stepping on to the ship to bring him to India. I see him with his young heart afame with enthusiasm, with his mind stored with the foundations of knowledge and with his thoughts

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at a Farewell Banquet held at Viceregal Lodge on Thursday (20th March) while proposing Sir Malcolm Hailey's health.

centred on the new life he would lead. He came glowing with pride, as a Member of the Service, realising that he was about to take part in great work, appreciating the wonderful record of that Service and knowing that his duty was to try to enhance it or, at least, to preserve its eminent reputation. Sir Malcolm arrived with a knapsack on his back which everybody since Napoleon is supposed to carry when setting out in life, at least, figuratively. He saw before him dancing in the sunlight the wand of the Governor of the Province he had selected for his service. And so in the fulness of time his ambition is fulfilled, and he who joined the service of the Punjab in the humblest capacity has now risen to the highest position in that Province.

It is indeed fitting that here in Delhi we should be celebrating his new appointment, for that is the way I try to picture to-night's gathering. I cannot bear to think that it is in the nature of a farewell. It is rather one of congratulation to Sir Malcolm Hailey upon his appointment as Governor of the Punjab and of congratulation to ourselves that he will yet be with us for some years. I am credibly informed that Delhi has long been one of the loves of Sir Malcolm. And can you wonder with all its traditions, associations and beauties ? Lady Hailey, you must keep a watchful eye upon him ! Before he came to Delhi—if history tells me aright—when in his early days on duty connected with the Punjab Colonisation Scheme he was smitten by plague and would have succumbed but for the devoted care taken of him. But destiny had much in store for him and intended that he should become Chief Commissioner of Delhi. For six or seven years he held this post and was entrusted by Lord Hardinge with the duties of preparing Delhi for the temporary accommodation of those who were then intended to be sojourners merely for three or four years whilst the New Capital was being built. But he really loved the old capital, and

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at a Farewell Banquet held at Viceregal Lodge on Thursday (20th March) while proposing Sir Malcolm Hailey's health.

Sir Malcolm made it so comfortable here that we are still here, living in the old historical atmosphere with the memories that make Delhi a city of surpassing interest in India. We may well pause to give a retrospective glance at Sir Malcolm as he daily paid his tribute of admiration to this city and there deposited the seeds of his affection which we now see grown to the beautiful flowers, trees and shrubs of Old Delhi. Can there be a more appropriate place for us to honour him ?

I did not know Sir Malcolm in those days. When first I came to India I found him as my Finance Member and I well remember my first impressions of him. They were of a man—my colleagues will forgive me if I tell secrets of the Cabinet Chamber—who sat very quiet whilst schemes were propounded and discussed. He had an invariable reply : “ We cannot afford it ” ! He was never tired of preaching economy and retrenchment and it is but right to say that, in truth, the Assembly had the staunchest advocate and supporter of retrenchment in Sir Malcolm Hailey when he was Finance Member. During that time he laid the foundation of the present period. His was, in one respect, the unfortunate lot of a Finance Member during the days of the deficits with which nations became too familiar after the war. He courageously set himself to build up the finances of India and laid the seeds now so excellently cultivated by his successor, Sir Basil Blackett, which have enabled us at least to arrive at a balanced Budget without extra taxation. I realise as I speak that for the moment we are without a Finance Bill, and that unless action is taken in the immediate future, the luxury may be enjoyed of absence of legal obligation to pay the necessary taxation. Sir Malcolm succeeded Sir William Vincent as Home Member and Leader of the House—a task that really makes heavy demands on capacities and endurance. I doubt whether any of the statesmen of Cabinet Ministers in England

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at a Farewell Banquet held at Viceregal Lodge on Thursday (20th March) while proposing Sir Malcolm Hailey's health.

realise the arduousness of the task imposed upon the shoulders of the Home Member who has not only to attend the House all day devoting his time and his attention unceasingly, unwearyingly to its activities, but when that part of his labours is finished must tackle the files and problems that have accumulated and begin new tasks. In addition he has his duties as Member of Council. But I am reminded by a casual glance to the right that if I continue to impress upon you the burden which Atlas has carried upon his shoulders, I shall have to-morrow morning a polite refusal to hear it when Sir Malcolm has left! In truth, it is one of the most important, one of the most difficult, one of the most harassing and one of the most honourable positions in India at this time. To him who is Home Member comes great responsibility and I declare to Sir Malcolm Hailey in the presence of many of those who are more intimately acquainted with the labours of the Leader of the House, that I am personally most grateful for all that he has done in the interests of India, and to serve me as His Majesty's representative. I must not speak more of him save to express on behalf of my colleagues, whom I regard as my friends and my comrades who sit with me in Council mapping out the destinies of India and of others serving in the Government of India, our deep regret that Sir Malcolm Hailey is leaving us and our great pleasure that he is assuming the important duties imposed upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor. I must not detain you. I have been in very close association with Sir Malcolm. We have had very difficult and trying times together. We have striven with our colleagues to understand the current of events and thought in India, to view India's aspirations with sympathy, to act with patience and restraint whilst recognising that we must carry out the decisions to which our duties and our consciences impel us. A striking characteristic of Sir Malcolm is the clarity of

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at a Farewell Banquet held at Viceregal Lodge on Thursday (20th March) while proposing Sir Malcolm Hailey's health.

thought and the felicity of diction which distinguish the expression of his views. He has—if he will permit me to say it in his presence—exceptional qualities of mind, precision and orderliness of thought combined with strong character, fairness of judgment actuated by a genuine desire to serve the country to which his fortunes have called him. I have so often communed with him to my advantage that I am deeply indebted to him for his assistance. To-night I will content myself with telling you that knowing how fully his time was occupied both by day and by night, I have made him ride with me early in the morning that we might discuss our problems and when that was not possible I have summoned him to breakfast at an early hour. I cannot close without reference to Lady Hailey, for it is impossible to speak of Sir Malcolm without mentioning Lady Hailey. We wish her all good fortune in the years to come, she will take to the Punjab a most kindly heart and sympathetic soul. The Punjab will have in her one who has made many friends—multitudes of friends—both among Europeans and Indians who have had the pleasure of knowing her.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you now to join with me in drinking to the long life and health, happiness and prosperity of Sir Malcolm Hailey and also Lady Hailey. I ask you to remember that in Sir Malcolm we have a true friend of the Reforms, one who is whole-heartedly loyal to the interests of India and a devoted servant of the Empire.

HIS EXCELLENCE THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE PORTRAIT OF LORD CHELMSFORD.

20th
March
1924.

I gladly accepted the invitation to take part in the ceremony of unveiling the portrait of Lord Chelmsford which Mr. Devaki

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of Lord Chelmsford.

Nandan Prasad Singh has so generously presented to the Legislative Assembly.

In the first place, I desired to show my warm appreciation of the generosity of the donor. I have heard the most gratifying accounts of his public spirit in many directions in his own Province. The gift to be displayed to you to-day is yet another instance of his munificence and an indication of the wide range of his beneficent activities.

The gift of the portrait to the Assembly reveals thoughtfulness and solicitude for the preservation of the memory of those associated with great events in the history of India. Events march onward ; and it often happens that those affected by their action and reaction are so engrossed in their own activities and work that they have little leisure to mark the achievements of the men who played the leading part in great changes of the highest importance so widely affecting both themselves and their country. Nevertheless there are fortunately in all nations patriotic and grateful citizens whose minds dwell on these achievements and who mark, by the erection of statues or by the gift of portraits, their appreciation of great place in the path of progress filled by some statesman or patriot. No visitor to the United States can leave Washington without realisation of the great pride the American citizen takes in the history of the United States and its constitution and of the gratitude and patriotism that has preserved for future generations in bronze, marble or on canvass the image of the personality of the great men of America. The same spirit has moved Mr. Devaki Nandan to present to the Legislative Assembly this portrait of a Viceroy and Governor-General who was closely associated with both the conception and execution of a momentous step in constitutional

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of Lord Chelmsford.

advance in India ; and I am convinced that no gift could be more acceptable to the Assembly.

In the short space of time available I cannot attempt to express a full appreciation of the untiring labours and great services of Lord Chelmsford in the cause of India and for the welfare of the people of India. As I well know, the burden which falls on a Governor-General is heavy to bear and the responsibilities of his high office are always exacting and sometimes almost overwhelming. In the case of Lord Chelmsford, however, owing to special circumstances, the period of his charge fell in times of unexampled difficulties and special perplexities. He assumed his office when only 18 months of the Great War had passed. It fell to him at a time of grave crisis in the Empire to guide the course of India and to lead that great effort of the Princes and people of India in the cause of the Empire to success. Their achievement remains an abiding source of pride and gratification to India and the Empire. No less difficult were the many problems of civil administration, due to the economic disturbance and to the unsettlement of men's minds consequent on the war, with which Lord Chelmsford had to grapple. Similar questions perplexed the keenest brains in Europe and America ; and no one in India can look back on Lord Chelmsford's work during those difficult years with anything but gratitude for the fortitude and inspiration of his leadership throughout those times of peril and doubt. The great burden thrown on Lord Chelmsford by those events was sufficiently weighty by itself ; and many men would have been content and proud to have had the strength to bear it to the end of a critical and anxious journey ; but in addition, prompted by a great sense of duty, Lord Chelmsford determined to strive with Mr. Montagu to carry India forward to a new and definite stage of constitutional advancement. Amid great distractions, in spite of misunderstand-

*Opening of the Lady Reading Hospital for Women and Children at Simla
on the 25th April 1924.*

ings and misrepresentation, but always stimulated and upheld by his firm confidence in the blessings of responsible institutions and by his deep sympathy for the welfare of the people of India, he consistently worked to this end and had the satisfaction of seeing his labours brought to fruition. He took part in laying the foundations of the edifice which he and Mr. Montagu planned. Whatever the criticism that has assailed the details of the scheme of political progress which was devised, India has always felt assured of the rectitude of Lord Chelmsford's intentions and the courage of his initiative and even those who are to-day impatient for more rapid advance must acknowledge that Lord Chelmsford manfully sought to help India forward in constitutional Government. It is therefore eminently appropriate that this presentment of him should find its place in the Legislative Assembly and I have much pleasure in unveiling the picture.

25th April
1925.

**OPENING OF THE LADY READING HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN
AND CHILDREN AT SIMLA ON THE 25TH APRIL 1924.**

At the opening of the new Hospital for Women and Children in Simla, His Excellency the Viceroy in addressing the gathering said :—

On the 15th of June of last year we met here for the purpose of attending the ceremony of the laying of the Foundation Stone of this Hospital by Her Excellency. On the 25th of April of this year the ceremony takes place of opening the Hospital completed, I believe, in all its details. It is a notable achievement during so short a time and reflects the greatest credit upon all who have taken part in the erection and installation of this institution. Her Excellency, I know, has taken the

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greatest pride in this establishment. I speak now in my official capacity. I have nothing to do with the Lady, except that being Viceroy it devolves upon me, naturally and appropriately, that I should take part in a ceremony which is destined to do much—very much I hope—to alleviate the sufferings of the women and children of Simla and of India and to relieve somewhat the ills from which unfortunately humanity is not free. It has been a great work. It has, I know, been a labour of love to Her Excellency and all those who have assisted her untiringly in their determination to get this institution ready for opening in the month of April of 1924.

All who have contributed by their work have assisted in the great cause, and I must not leave out of account those who have contributed in other ways—Princes, high personages, officials, merchants, people generally, have sent their contributions in order to assist in the erection of this Hospital. Those who have given largely and those who have given even minute sums are entitled and, I know, receive the full gratitude of Her Excellency and those associated with her in this work.

I attribute special importance to the fact that this Hospital starts with an endowment, so that it is assisted in the future by an income which will enable it to carry on, I shall not say all its work because, as you are aware, gratitude is an expectation of favours to come—and I am still hopeful on behalf of Her Excellency. The funds are supplemented also by a generous contribution from the Simla Municipality. In my official capacity I tender very grateful thanks to Her Excellency for the work that she has done and congratulate her upon the achievement.

In the more humble capacity of the husband of the Lady who has to take part in the service, I shine of course with a reflected glory not entirely unknown to husbands, but not always

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I believe, as I hear some ladies murmur, acknowledged so freely by the men—and it would ill become me in the circumstances to dim the effulgence of this limitation, and I must therefore as quickly as possible retire from the scene to enable her who is really the chief person in the ceremony of to-day to take her part. I will content myself by wishing the greatest success to the Hospital ; indeed, I feel sure that its future is certain ; I will further express the hope—nay indeed, I might go further and say the certainty—that this Hospital will help to create greater happiness for the women and children of Simla and of India.

Her Excellency the Countess of Reading then made the following speech :—

Everyone in this gathering must be in a position to appreciate the stimulating nature of my task to-day for there can be none amongst you so unfortunate as never to have realised a pet ambition. On this very human ground I can claim your sympathy and your understanding if, in addressing you, I cannot conceal a sense of very intimate satisfaction. Three years ago when I was first privileged to come amongst you—when I first had the opportunity of studying the needs of this community, one thing above all others seemed conspicuous by its absence. The lack of adequate provision for the medical care of Indian women and children in this our premier hill station and the summer capital of Government

The Lady Reading Hospital will in time, I trust, serve other than purely local needs, the benefits of an up-to-date Hill Hospital should be of wide appeal and, further, its influence will be generally felt through the nurses, who will find in it the centre of their training and the inspiration of their work in other parts of the country. But it is Simla first and foremost which will reap the fruits of our endeavour. My conception was of a hospital, perfect and up-to-date in every practical detail, but preserving at the same time an atmosphere of homeliness and a simplicity

Opening of the Universities' Conference in Simla.

in keeping with the beauty of its surroundings. In these last we have indeed been fortunate and I can only hope—in Dr. Houlton's interests—that her patients will manifest less reluctance in leaving the hospital than does the hospital's Godmother.

I have already warned you that my pride and pleasure are of a very personal nature, and here arises a difficulty. Where would my hopes of realisation have been without the spontaneous and generous contributions of a multitude of friends known and unknown? And how can I ever adequately express my gratitude? Perhaps it is not for me to attempt it. Their best reward will lie with mine in the compassionate work of which this will be the centre and in the building of the healthy and happy lives of the future. For the encouragement I have received for the great awakening of public interest I can never be sufficiently thankful, for in these things lie the solution of our problem. My gratitude too must be recorded to the Building Committee to all those and in especial to Mr. Brebner who during the last year have worked so splendidly to push on the completion of our preparations. Neither can I conclude without one word of very personal and heartfelt thanks to Colonel Carey Evans without whose enthusiastic and devoted labours it is no exaggeration to assert we should not be here to-day.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the greatest possible pleasure in declaring the Lady Reading Hospital open.

OPENING OF THE UNIVERSITIES' CONFERENCE IN SIMLA.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Universities' Conference in the Legislative Assembly Chamber in Simla on the 19th May said :—

Let me extend a warm welcome to the delegates of the Universities of India who are assembled here for the Conference.

M14PVS

19th May
1924.

Opening of the Universities' Conference in Simla.

I am conscious that many of you have travelled considerable distances to attend this Conference at a season of the year when unfortunately the rigours of the climate add in a material degree to the fatigue and discomfort inseparable at all times from long journeys. In many cases also, I know that your absence from your other duties and preoccupations at this time has only been arranged at considerable personal inconvenience and sacrifice. I and my Government highly appreciate the sense of public duty, of interest in the objects of the Conference and of keenness to take part in any measure to advance the well-being of the Universities which has prompted you to accept our invitation ; and we are grateful to the governing bodies of the Universities for their ready and willing response to our suggestion for the Conference. I am confident that my Government will profit by the Conference and acquire a most useful store of advice on the important questions to be discussed from the united wisdom of so distinguished a body of representatives ; and I believe the results will be generally acknowledged by the Universities also to be highly beneficial to the best interests of the Universities and of University teaching.

This is the first Conference of the kind that has been held and I welcome this opportunity of inaugurating its proceedings. Ever since I came to India, I have taken a keen interest in the Universities ; and whenever I have been at a University centre and have had the opportunity, I have visited the University, and made the acquaintance of those who conduct its affairs and instructed myself regarding the work of the University and its influence. These individual visits have been a source of pleasure and interest to me ; and I trust I have been able in my addresses to convey my high conception of the great mission of University teaching and training and my personal conviction of the extreme importance of University work in India in its effect both on the individual and the

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country as a whole. If by my visits I have communicated in some measure my desire to stimulate and encourage those, who share my ideals for the true scope of University teaching, to look with confidence beyond the local problems and difficulties of the moment confronting the administration of a particular University to the higher and wider planes, which await successful University development, my solicitude has been amply repaid. Many of those here to-day I have had the pleasure of meeting within the walls of their own Universities. It is a pleasure to meet them again and to meet them together and from this assembling of representatives of various Universities I entertain great expectations. The advantages of collecting representatives together in a Conference may not at first sight be apprehended. It is true that each University is self-contained. It has its own work to perform and the needs of its own centre and clientele to provide for. To a large extent its destiny lies in its own hands and it is master of its own fortunes and alone responsible for its own success or failure. Nevertheless, in the history of a country the more important factor is not the success of an individual University, but the influence and effect of University policy and education as a whole. To take an example from the scheme of Universe. in the world a particular flower may have beauty, colour, scent, perfection of form, or perhaps uses peculiar to itself, but its importance in the general scheme of creation is not comparable with that of the flower world as a whole with its infinis variety of beauty, form, colour, virtues and uses. We might deplore the loss of a single species, but any change affecting the whole flower world would be an unthinkable calamity.

I have stated the fact of my constant interest in Indian Universities ; let me explain more precisely the reason for it and for my personal satisfaction in inaugurating this Conference. It may appear that, as education is now a provincial subject and

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as the connection of the Government of India or of the Indian Legislature in regard to Universities has only been prescribed in certain particular cases for special reasons, the Governor-General and the Central Government cannot be supposed to be directly interested in their affairs. It is true that University administration is largely now, and rightly, a provincial care ; but the abstract idea, which underlies all forms of University activity, is of such cardinal importance that it is woven into the principal functions of the Government of India and the Governor-General. The outcome of the spread of University teaching, if it achieves success and exerts its proper influence, is to set an intellectual and moral standard for the people of India as a whole. It should be the principal formative influence in the development of capacity in these directions. Its highest ideal is not to rest content with the production of individuals of brilliant attainments, but to ensure a permanent progress in the mental outlook of the people as a whole and to give birth to a higher moral tone in general and to a more widespread striving for enlightenment. The responsibilities of the Government of India for the administration and progress of the country and the charge which has been laid on me as Governor-General by the King-Emperor in his instructions that the " Governor-General should use all endeavour consistent with the fulfilment of his responsibilities to us and our Parliament for the welfare of our Indian subjects " cannot be fulfilled, unless I and my Government take a direct interest in fostering these ideals and in assisting towards their consummation. A healthy national life depends on the wide dissemination of a desire to arrive at balanced judgments, of ideas of duty and discipline and of common responsibilities and mutual obligations. These can only come by the spread of an atmosphere, which it is one of the most important functions of the Universities to diffuse. We have to travel away from the narrow and circumscribed view which regards

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education only as means of individual advancement or profit, and pass out towards the broader horizon where education is destined to achieve higher purpose to lead the man intellectually endowed and aided by the illuminating quality of imagination to those greater altitudes from which to reflect honour and glory upon his fellowmen and his country. Where these conditions have been established, those who have profited by University teaching will look back on their University days, not merely as an episode serving an individual and material end, but as an epoch in their lives which beckoned along the road of honour and duty.

Let me now turn to the objects which this Conference primarily has in view. In order to appreciate to the full the necessity for this Conference, in addition to the consideration of the importance of fostering common ideals already explained, a brief review of University history in India is essential. University history in India started with the foundation of the Calcutta University in 1857. By 1887 four more Universities had come into existence; and these five Institutions continued to exist and cater for the needs of Academic Education in India until 1916. These Universities were all of the affiliating type. This system was well adapted for the first steps; but as the demand for education increased, it outgrew, as is now generally admitted, its usefulness. There was no limit to the number of institutions which could be affiliated to a University; and for the 30 years which elapsed between 1887 and 1916 the increasing demand for University Education was met not by the creation of new Universities but by adding to the number of the affiliated Colleges or inflating their capacity. The strain on the central organisations which were not designed to cope with this unwieldy growth and the weakness of the tie with and between the groups of constituent Colleges, often situated several hundred miles apart and in a position to contribute nothing to the vitality of

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the University, gradually drained all reserves of strength and resulted in loss of efficiency. Paralysis seemed imminent which would for ever impair the beneficent activities both of the body itself and of its members.

The Government of India were alive to the danger and broke new ground by advocating a restriction of the area attached to affiliating Universities by the creation of separate Universities for each Province and by the institution of local teaching and residential Universities within each province with a view to secure more progressive educational efficiency. Local patriotism and communal enthusiasm also came to the aid of Government; and to one or other of these various causes may be ascribed the birth of seven new Universities in British India since 1916. A powerful stimulus to University reform and strong support for the establishment of the unitary teaching type of University advocated by the Government of India was also created by the report of the Calcutta University Commission. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole course of University education has been profoundly affected by the publication of this report. No aspect of the functions of a University in India, of the needs for which it should cater or of the conditions essential for its success, escaped the careful survey of this Commission. The highest praise of the labours of the members is to be found in the fact that, though only dealing with the Calcutta University, their conclusions were at once recognised as applicable or adaptable to the whole of India; and not only has all legislation for the incorporation of new Universities since the publication of the Commission's Report embodied features from their recommendations, but some of the older Universities also have in some respects remodelled their structure on lines advocated by them.

We are now at a period in the history of the Universities in India where there has been a sudden increase in the number

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of Universities. The growth has been phenomenal ; in less than a decade the number of Universities has doubled. We are also at a stage where transition from an older to a newer type is in progress ; the new Universities are taking different shapes ; in addition, apart from changes in external structure, we are living in an era of University reform affecting the internal composition of each edifice. This reform is proceeding, hampered, it is true, in many cases by difficulties of finance, but proceeding nevertheless with a wider horizon of intention and a greater variety of aims than at any past period of University history in India.

I need scarcely point out that at such a time it is essential to ensure the preservation of the highest standards of University education and to safeguard against any falling away from the ideals of the best class of University training. With a multiplication of institutions, with alterations in type, with changes in internal systems, and with financial stringency affecting the complete execution of projects there is no small risk of some deviation from the right road to educational efficiency. It is a time for conserving and strengthening resources and for using them to the best advantage. It is a time when the newer may lean to some extent on the garnered experience of the older foundations and when the latter may in turn derive some assistance from newer methods under trial in the former. It is a time for mutual help and for co-operation between Universities. A united front must be shown. There must be a joint effort to develop higher education in India to the highest standard. There must be combination to meet reasonable criticism and to remedy defects. Some uniformity of internal organisation seems desirable if there are to be no weak spots in the general system. The work of reorganisation and development lies primarily in the hands of each individual University with the help and control of the Local Government ; but the Government of India will always take a profound interest in the progress of the Universities ; and it is with the hope of

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strengthening the structure as a whole and of adding solidarity to the general system that they have initiated this Conference.

The recent advance in the quality and scope of University teaching in India has been remarkable. It should be a source of satisfaction to all those who have laboured to bring it about; and I congratulate them upon the achievement. Nevertheless we should not rest complacently on our laurels. We cannot conceal from ourselves that we have a vast field still to cover. If the highest standards had already been reached, we should not find so many of our brightest students leaving India to complete their education and to seek degrees in England or foreign countries. We must confess to a need for further development in many directions, more especially in higher Technological Education. We are conscious that our Medical Courses have not attained the standard which is elsewhere regarded as the highest. Though India has vast potential resources in the mineral world lying undeveloped, no facilities, I believe, exist at present for the advanced study of Mining Engineering in India and the only School of Mines is still in the stage of being constructed. The higher education of women also is still in its infancy. I have mentioned only a few instances out of many, not in a spirit of reproach because I am fully conscious of the great work that has been accomplished and of the difficulties that have been surmounted in the fields we have already explored, but with a desire to advance the ideal, with which I know you are all in sympathy, of striving to perfect our University education in India and to attain the highest possible standards.

I trust I have now made clear the special needs which my Government hopes may be served by this Conference and the directions in which the results of the Conference may be expected to benefit individual Universities and University education as a whole. If in some degree these expectations can be

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realised, we shall derive permanent advantages from this first Conference of Indian Universities.

Before I conclude, let me bring to your notice one aspect of the influence of Universities to which I attach the highest importance. I need not lay stress on the great part each University plays in the life of the local or provincial community or on the still more important part Universities may be expected to play in the life of India as a whole, if by co-operation and mutual assistance between Universities those common ideals and that united strength and solidarity, for which we all hope, can be attained.

If I were to be asked what is the greatest service the Universities can perform for India, I should be in no doubt as to my answer—I should reply “to extend the Empire of reason in India until it is coterminous with the Empire of India itself”. It is a commonplace that one of the effects of University education should be to produce in the individual to a greater or lesser degree according to his capacity the power of forming a balanced judgment by the exercise of reason on a careful examination of ascertained facts. This should be the first characteristic of the scientifically trained and scholarly mind. A mind of this mould will first strive to determine whether the whole of the facts and the whole material necessary for decision have been marshalled for examination. The examination of the material will proceed by testing each component part and assigning to it its correct relative value to the whole. This process can only be successfully carried out by the operation of unbiased reasoning and by banishing all shadow of prejudice and assumption from the test. In the end the accurate result is only attained by exercise of an untiring capacity for proving each feature of the case and of a passionate desire to find the truth. These are the mental processes which lead up to a reasoned judgment. Difficult as they may appear, they are nevertheless inherent

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in the powers of the human mind and only need cultivation to secure their growth and expansion. Without such cultivation, the mind is prone to rely excessively upon sentiment, intuition and impulse. Let me examine for a moment these springs of human action. Sentiment may be and indeed often is tame. It is universal ; there is no mind so dull, no nature so callous that some spark of sentiment cannot be found in it ; but sentiment alone is unsafe guide to decision. It is too often exercised on an object before reason has time to ascertain whether the object is worthy of its exercise ; it is nearly related to prejudice ; by itself it is insufficient and unstable ballast for any nation ; and by trusting to it alone nations have suffered the ship of state to wreck. To weather the storms and to bring the vessel into safe harbourage sentiment should be controlled and guided by reason. Intuition has its value ; but for the individual or the nation it is a mental shortcut which offers no assured return to the highroad. If reason is sufficiently developed, it can reach with certainty that end which intuition may only occasionally attain. Impulse is closely allied to intuition and carries with it the same uncertainty. It is perhaps the commonest of all springs of human action ; when not controlled by reason it is surely the most unsafe of all guides. Nevertheless sentiment, intuition and impulse have their bright moments. They do not resemble reason which like the sun shines with a light, constant, uniform and lasting ; for sentiment, intuition and impulse, although at times a spark of divine afflatus may inspire them, are meteors, alas, only of uncertain lustre, irregular in motion and delusive in direction. It is a high function of University teaching to provide them with the sure light of the torch of reason, to hand it on from hand to hand until it has illumined the uttermost dark corners of this country and to spread abroad the beams of enlightenment and certainty where the mists of doubt now mask the light.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE COMBINED MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY AT SIMLA ON 24TH JUNE 1924.

24th June
1924.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the Combined Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla on the 24th June 1924 and made the following speech :—

It is a pleasure to me to preside at this Annual Meeting. The objects which the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society have in view are outside the field of criticism and removed from all controversy ; and when, as in the present case, it is my privilege to pass in review reports which demonstrate a marked expansion of the beneficent activities of these two sister societies, I feel that I may cease to regard my functions as President as a grave and onerous responsibility and may, with a light and joyful heart, take satisfaction and pride in my task.

An examination of the report which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has presented on the working of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association reveals most satisfactory progress during the year and I congratulate the Association on the activities which His Excellency has explained to this Meeting. The Indian Council may justly derive satisfaction from the number of new centres opened and from the high percentage of passes in examinations among those receiving courses of instruction. The popularity of the latter may be judged from the facts brought to our notice by the Commander-in-Chief that nearly 13,000 persons attended the various classes. Interest in the work was not confined to British India ; and one of the features of the year's working has been the keen response and sympathy with the objects of the Association displayed by the Indian States. I desire to associate myself with the Council in expressing obligations and gratitude to the Members of the Medical profession and

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lay lecturers who, without remuneration and at a sacrifice of their leisure, have assisted the Association in holding courses and examinations. Without their willing help it would have been impossible to achieve the great measure of success and popularity which the Association has secured.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has drawn attention to the All-India Ambulance competitions at Allahabad and Calcutta which were a special feature of the year and produced keen contests ; the greatest credit is due to those who organised the competitions. The task of making the arrangements was no sinecure as may be realised from the fact that over 60 teams entered for the events in each competition. The popularity of these contests will undoubtedly stimulate Ambulance work ; and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has informed you of my personal interest in these competitions. I note with satisfaction the increased activity of the Ambulance movement among railway employés. It would add in no small degree to the sense of security of the public if, as a result of the spread of Ambulance knowledge, each train had an Ambulance passed employé on it and if Ambulance experts were to be found among the railway staff at every railway station of importance. Not less interesting to the general public is the steady expansion of Ambulance knowledge among the police force in India. The work has also been in progress in mines ; and there is a great scope for its extension, not only in mining areas, but also in industrial centres where owing to the presence of heavy traffic and machinery the possibility of the occurrence of accidents must be apprehended.

The Indian Red Cross Society has successfully embarked on its peace programme. The initial stages of its mission to create among all classes an intelligent demand for better health con-

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ditions and an increasing knowledge of the means of securing them have been surmounted. Real progress has been made in popular health instruction and public health nursing. Some idea of the extent to which useful knowledge has been spread may be gathered from the issues of booklets and leaflets relating to public health propaganda, of which more than $\frac{1}{2}$ million copies have been sold. There has been a notable increase in the number of child welfare centres and there is every sign of a continuing increase. The great need is a larger supply of trained Indian public health nurses. Health schools for training nurses have done excellent work at Delhi, Madras, Poona and Lahore ; but the supply is not yet equal to the ever-expanding demand. It may be invidious to single out particular Provinces for praise where so many centres have good work to their credit ; but I cannot leave this aspect of the work without a special reference to the achievements of the Society in Madras, Bombay and Bengal. In the two former Presidencies we have unfortunately now been deprived of the invaluable services of Lady Willingdon and Lady Lloyd, both of whom were indefatigable workers in Red Cross interests and possessed the great gift of communicating their own enthusiasm and energy for the cause to others.

If the foundations for better health conditions are to be truly laid, the rising generation must claim our first care ; and attention must be concentrated on the children of India. The Society's Report clearly shows that this aspect of the work receives the prominence it merits. I have already referred to the child welfare work, everywhere so actively in progress and particularly successful in the Madras Presidency. No branch of the work of the Society perhaps calls for so much care and patience. In the initial stages of the work confidence is difficult to establish ; but once the seeds of confidence have

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been sown, the plant grows rapidly as has been abundantly proved by experience in child welfare work in Southern India. Of great importance likewise is the dissemination of knowledge of the simpler laws of health and hygiene among schools and material is now ready for further progress in this direction. The cause of the welfare of the rising generation has also received a powerful stimulus in the past year by the success of the Baby Week demonstrations in which the Red Cross branches co-operated. As you are aware Her Excellency took the keenest interest in the Baby Week movement and all associated with these activities must have been highly gratified by the results. Baby Weeks were held in more than 1,000 different places in India and Burma. I am confident that few of the many thousands, who witnessed the Baby Week displays, left the exhibitions without a quickening of thought and sympathy and assimilation of new and beneficent ideas for the care of children.

I am particularly interested in that portion of the Annual Report of the Indian Red Cross Society which deals with the question of enlisting the sympathy and assistance of non-official workers and the membership campaign. You may remember that, when I addressed you two years ago, I laid special stress on the importance of arousing the interest of non-officials. In the days of the common peril of the late war the objects of the Society made a special and spontaneous appeal to the sympathy of the general public ; and at the same time the vital needs of the situation and the responsibilities of the Civil and Military administration for the efficiency of medical arrangement tended to give a special weight and importance to the official element in the working of both Societies. After the war, the tradition of official connection still survived ; but with the disappearance of the urgency of a special cause and the cessation of the

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particular stimulus created by the war there was a possibility that non-official interest might grow cold. It is right that official interest should be sustained ; indeed it cannot be conceived that it can be divorced from taking part in the great mission for the alleviation of suffering and for the promotion of the health and welfare of the people of India ; but nevertheless it is essential that, if the beneficent work is to be carried on with real efficiency, the objects these Societies have in view should command the active support of the general public and become part of the convictions of all thinking men and women in India ; and it is only in these conditions that these Societies can be a living force, with real power of doing good on a large scale.

I am glad to note from the Report that in many instances keen interest in the working of the Society has been aroused and manifested. In other centres efforts have been made and are still in progress to attract it more widely ; I am confident that these efforts will be fruitful. I believe that the Indian mind is particularly susceptible to the appeal made by the work of the Society. I have been greatly impressed in India by the widespread desire among the people to help others. I need only refer to two common instances. No one can have failed to notice the almost universal custom by which the benevolent, during the hot season, provide booths on high roads or in streets where cool drinking water is given to all thirsty travellers. Another sign of the spirit to which I refer is the almost complete absence of organised poor relief in India. The large population of indigent, aged or crippled persons in India who are unable to earn their own living, can freely count on private generosity, often even emanating from families in very narrow circumstances, for support and daily bread. It is to this neighbourly spirit and to this desire to assist others that the

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Society can look for help in its beneficent work. To those who have already advanced so far on the road of duty to their fellow men, I feel confident that an appeal to embrace fresh opportunities of social service will not be made in vain.

Let me thank all those who have worked in the interests of the two Societies. Among them let me mention Sir Frederick Whyte, though he is not here with us to-day ; I know how greatly his efforts on behalf of both Societies are appreciated. We may derive satisfaction that our view of his capabilities is shared with us by others, for the General Council of the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris has recently paid him and us the compliment of selecting him as the President of their Commission on Red Cross Organisation.

I have pleasure in commending the valuable work of these Societies to general notice in the hope that with more universal support from the public their influence may be further expanded and their beneficent activities increased.

9th October
1924.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE INDIAN RAILWAY CONFERENCE AT SIMLA ON 9TH OCTOBER 1924.

In opening the Annual Session of the Indian Railway Conference at Simla, H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech —

I greatly value this opportunity of welcoming the members of the Indian Railway Conference Association. This meeting enables me in the first place to express my warm appreciation of the very valuable results obtained from the meetings of the Association. The Association has, I understand, now been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century. Its primary

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function was to frame arrangements for the management of traffic interchanged between the different railways, but it also considers and advises upon all other questions of railway management referred to it by its members or by the Government of India, and this aspect of its activities has naturally grown in importance. The full Conference only meets once in twelve months, but its functions are carried on throughout the year by technical sub-committees, whose recommendations come before the full meetings of the Association at this annual conference. I attribute the greatest importance to both the formal and informal aspects of these deliberations.

I cannot estimate too highly the value to the Government of India of the expert assistance and advice received from this experienced body. Both the public and the Government owe a debt to the Association for the sustained efforts which are made at these conferences to perfect the harmonious working of railways in India, and to conduce to improved efficiency in the service of the public. I am aware that during your discussions many questions are satisfactorily decided which would otherwise only come to a decision after lengthy consideration by the Railway Board of the representations of different railway administrations, and, last but not least, I attach the highest importance to the opportunities which these meetings afford to the Agents and principal officers of all the railways in India for coming together for the purpose of informal discussion and interchange of views. These meetings must be of the greatest value to them, and they also afford the officers of my Government an opportunity for discussions with them of the same nature which I know are very greatly prized. I value the opportunity of this meeting also because I am enabled thereby to address those who are directly responsible for the working of the great railway system of India. I need

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not dwell on the great importance of the latter to this country. From small beginnings—I believe the first railway opened in India over 70 years ago was a modest project running for 21 miles only—a vast complex system has been built up. The total mileage now exceeds 38,000 miles and last year nearly 600 million passengers and 100 million tons of goods were carried on the system. The staff employed on the railways numbers nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ million persons. On Budget lines alone this year the earnings may be expected to attain a total of Rs. 97 crores. The magnitude of the changes which railways have brought about in the social and economic life of the Indian people in the last half-century can hardly be estimated. The expansion of the railway system has silently but surely made for the spread of civilisation, for a general increase in material prosperity, for greater happiness and for greater unity among the people of India, and for wider possibilities in public and private life. Those who have helped to build up and expand the system may well take pride in the achievement. I fully realise the great responsibilities and heavy burden of work which lies upon those entrusted with the working of this vast and complex system, and for this reason, and on account of the great importance to India of the duties they perform, it is a special pleasure to me to meet here to-day those principally responsible for the management of Indian railways. Apart from my keen interest in railways generally on account of their connection with the development and progress in India circumstances place me in an even more intimate relation in regard to them. In India a very large portion of the railway system is owned by Government, and in consequence my Government is vitally interested and directly concerned in the efficient and economical management of the railway system.

The difficulties which have had to be faced during the past war period are well known and I need not explore their causes.

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The brief boom of 1919-20 was succeeded by a period of severe trade depression. There was leeway to make up in repairing wastage. While the cost of material had risen in an unprecedented fashion and the wages bill had swelled owing to the abnormal increase in prices and the cost of living. In 1921-22 and 1922-23 the railways were unable to pay interest charges, and a situation of great difficulty had arisen. The only solution of the problem was to introduce a policy of retrenchment and rigorous economy in working charges, while at the same time making a reasonable increase in the rates and fares. My Government greatly appreciate the loyal manner in which the railway administration and their staff operated in the execution of this policy. The fruit of their labours is already apparent. Last year the railways made a net contribution to the State of more than 6 crores, and paid a net return on capital invested of more than 5 per cent. It is too early to prophesy as regards the present year, and it is necessary to make allowance for the damage not yet fully estimated, caused by the recent disastrous floods, but the prospects are hopeful, and with the gross receipts up to the end of last August in excess of those of the corresponding period of last year by 309 lakhs, a confident view may be taken.

I have on various occasions expressed my opinion that a slow but steady revival of trade is taking place and the railway returns which act as the barometer of trade point to the indicator moving in that direction. The capital expenditure of the last few years is beginning to take effect in increased capacity and better facilities for handling traffic. In addition, in spite of greatly increased traffic and earnings, the ordinary working expenses for the early portion of the year stand at a lower figure than last year. The fall in prices is without doubt a contributing factor, but the main credit must be given to the Agents and their staff, without whose continuous efforts and close atten-

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tion to economy these satisfactory results could not have been secured. Some portion of the improvement effected may also be attributed to the process of overhauling the railway organisation in the Central Government. The Acworth Committee and the Inchcape Committee offered my Government valuable advice both on the financial and administrative side of railway policy. The suggestions of the Inchcape Committee have borne fruit in resulting economies without loss of efficiency. The reorganisation of the Railway Department, which formed the subject of one of the recommendations of the Acworth Committee, has been energetically carried out by Sir Charles Innes. The Railway Board has been strengthened by the inclusion of a Financial Adviser and by the addition to the staff of a number of technical officers, and, under Mr. Hindley's able guidance the central directorate is now approximating more and more to the ideal of a general staff for railway. Time will not permit of my dwelling on all the benefits which have been derived from these new activities, but the public may rest assured that in the Railway Board they now possess a scientific and practical body constantly engaged in the study of the railway problem of India as a whole, and in devising improvements and developments on a comprehensive scale. Great as the progress has been, nevertheless, owing to the size of the undertakings, development necessarily lags behind the needs of the continent.

I am tempted to dwell at length on the fascinating subject of productive expenditure in India. In my view after the completion of the rehabilitation of the existing railway system, a well considered plan for the extension of cheap but efficient railway transport is a primary necessity in India, and no step is more likely to conduce to an increase in trade and industry and in the general prosperity of the country. I am glad to be able to state that we have already made some progress in this direction. Projects for nearly 1,000 miles of new lines have

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been sanctioned, and little difficulty is anticipated in future in finding money for new projects of a remunerative nature. My Government have also approved, in consultation with local Governments, of a new policy from which good results are anticipated. Where a local Government, for administrative or other reasons, attaches importance to a local railway project which cannot be brought within the four corners of the definition of a commercially remunerative scheme, the Government of India will be prepared to construct and work a line desired by the local Government provided the local Government guarantees a specified rate of interest on capital outlay, and the scheme does not conflict with more extensive projects. This policy will, I trust, operate to associate the local Governments with railway development and adjust the general policy to local conditions. I trust the Agents will keep in touch with the local Governments in exploring local needs, and advise them in regard to promising local projects which can suitably be taken up under the new policy.

The Acworth Committee gave prominence to the vexed question of the comparative merits of State and Company management of railways. This question also aroused considerable interest in the Indian Legislature. As the outcome of the discussions on the subject, the Government of India, as you are aware, have decided to take under direct management the East Indian Railway from the 1st of January next, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway from next July. These changes will involve the transfer to service under the Government of India of a number of officers and several thousands of employees now working under companies on these lines. The members of these staffs are naturally apprehensive of the manner in which the change of management may affect the staff. I take this opportunity of assuring them that the officers and men of the two Railways need have no fears that

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the change will affect them adversely in the conditions of their pay, service or prospects. The most comprehensive change, to which immediate effect is to be given, arising out of the consideration of the Acworth Committee's Report lies in the domain of finance. In the past in this aspect the Railway Department occupied the same position as that of other departments of the Government of India. In spite of the possession of special powers and of the theoretical advantage of treatment on a commercial working basis, in practice the Railway Department was crippled for development purposes by the restrictions inherent in the system. The railways depended for finance upon money voted each year, and the net earning of the railways went into the general exchequer. I need not dwell on the weak points of this system. The inevitable tendency, especially apparent during the war, was to expect railways to contribute more than their just share to general revenues and to class the powers of recovery through railways as a potentiality for adding to revenue from taxation. This tendency killed the incentive to economy in working and continuity in railway policy, and definitely operated to discourage initiative in commercial management and a real increase in efficiency in the public service obtained by results in the working of the railways themselves.

The Acworth Committee's recommendations put the situation in a new light, and directed a fresh angle of vision towards the principle involved in the system. A step in advance was made when, with the approval of the Legislative Assembly, a capital programme was guaranteed to the railways over a period of years. The spirit of reform progressed to a logical conclusion during the last session of the Legislature, when a convention received approval separating railway finance from general finance. I congratulate the Assembly on the wisdom of

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the decision arrived at. For a time during the debates on the subject the decision was in jeopardy. Non-official amendments were moved, the purpose of which was to subject the change to other conditions wholly unconnected with the principle involved. Had these conditions, which included the complete subordination of all initiative in the executive action of the Executive Government to the Legislature been pressed the Government would have been obliged to have abandoned the project for separation. It would not have been possible as a condition of the latter to have given up a constitutional principle of first importance. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed. I desire to express my appreciation of the able services of the officers who presented the Government case, and of public spirit of those members of the Assembly who assisted in bringing about an acceptance of the proposals. I realise that in some cases their support was given to a Government measure of benefit to the interests of India notwithstanding political differences with the Government on other subjects, and the resolution as finally framed and passed represents, on the chief point involved in the debate, a compromise honourable to both parties in the discussion. Government has agreed to a provision by which the Legislative Assembly are at liberty to terminate the arrangement in the event of a State-managed line being handed over to a company against the advice of the Assembly. While the main question of a convention to separate railway from general finance has been accepted, the matter now rests on a proper basis. The importance of the reform cannot be overestimated. The State will continue to receive a fair and constant return from the money spent on railways, while communications will no longer run the risk of being taxed unfairly through the railways. General revenues may be expected to gain from stabilisation of railway revenue. The railway administration will now possess a real incentive to economy in working on com-

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mmercial lines. Proper arrangements can now be made for depreciation and for building up railway reserves. Continuity and regular growth in railway policy has become possible and it is hoped that in due course the public will pay less for the existing service of the railways, while railway facilities will be largely increased without addition to the burden of general taxation.

During the debates great stress was laid on Indianisation, and the resolution in its final form incorporated the views of the Assembly in this point, though these views formed no part of the actual convention regarding railway finance. The Lee Commission had made recommendations on this question which were in accordance with the general policy of His Majesty's Government as expressed in the preamble of the Government of India Act and before the debate on railway finance in the Assembly, the Government of India had decided to accept these recommendations, which have the effect of pressing forward as rapidly as possible the extension of existing facilities in order that the recruitment of Indians be advanced as soon as practicable up to 75 per cent. of the total number of vacancies in the Railway Department as a whole. In view of doubts expressed in the Press as to the manner in which this policy may affect a community now widely represented among the ranks of the railway staff, I desire to make it clear that I fully recognise that the Anglo-Indian community have played a very considerable part in working the railways in the past, and for this reason among others the Anglo-Indian community may rest assured that in the execution of the policy of increasing Indianisation, their interests will receive the most careful consideration and stand in no danger of being overlooked.

The separation of railway finance, which within limits constitutes the Agents as masters in their own house, increases their responsibility. Each year, whatever the conditions, the con-

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tribution has to be paid into general revenues. Any deficit which may occur cannot merely be passed on to those revenues. So long as the convention subsists, the Agents have to depend on their own resources and contrive to succeed within these limitations. The closest supervision and most careful attention to economy and efficiency in working will in consequence be called for. I appreciate the difficulties of the task which lies ahead and the strain which the Agents and their staff will be called upon to bear, but I am confident that the basis on which railway finances have now been placed is sound in principle and in view of the success of the efforts of the last two years I have no doubt that the fullest reliance can be placed on the railway administration to produce the most satisfactory results as the outcome of their new responsibilities and the wider field of initiative now before them. I know that the task will be undertaken in the right spirit, and that those engaged in it will derive encouragement from the great importance to India of the duties they perform. If they succeed, as I am confident they will, I shall be the first to rejoice with them in the issue of their labours, and to offer my contribution of praise to their success. I have referred to the fact that the railways touch almost every aspect of the lives of the people of India. It is inevitable in the circumstances that, with growing consciousness and the spread of responsible institutions among the people, railway administration should be a common target of attack and criticism. Much of the latter may be ill-founded and due to misapprehension, and for that reason it must at times be irksome to the railway staff who are performing their duties in difficulties little understood by the general public. Nevertheless, in my view railway administrations may derive satisfaction from the attention so continuously, if embarrassingly, directed towards them by the Legislatures and the public. It places the importance of the railways in the eyes of the public

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beyond all doubt, and the administrations may take a just pride in this recognition of their position by the public as a great national utility service.

I have dwelt on the great part railways have played in the development of India. How they have spread civilisation and material prosperity and changed the economic and social life of the Indian people as they have advanced, and how they have in a great measure contributed to the conditions which make it possible to-day to think of India as a united entity, with common national aspirations. Those who have been for many years connected with railway administration in India can look back with satisfaction on the steady course of this advance. They can recall with pride the practical difficulties which have been overcome, the administrative problems, at one time appearing insoluble, which have been solved, and the technical triumphs by which bridges have spanned the great rivers of India and baffling gradients have been surmounted. Their thoughts naturally turn towards what the future has in store. As far as it has been possible to contrive, the necessary machinery for the development of railways has been set up, and the ground has been cleared for expansion. But this expansion, from which nothing but benefit can accrue to India, must depend, in a large measure on the peaceful and steady progress of the people of India, with which the railways are so closely bound up and to which they directly react. It is my earnest hope that all that tends to retard that progress may be eliminated, that the distressing communal differences unhappily so prominent at the present time and so fatal to moral and material well-being may be composed. It is the unceasing preoccupation of myself and the Government to discover means to allay the intensity, and I deeply regret to say, the bitterness of feeling between members of the two great communities. No graver problem confronts India at this moment.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Farewell Dinner to the Honourable Sir Muhammad Shafi at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, on the 14th November 1924.

None deserves closer attention. None more urgently calls for the whole-hearted co-operation and goodwill of all sections of Indian opinion. I also trust that all influences unfortunately now existing which operate to set back the ordered course of the constitutional advance of this great country towards the goal of responsible self-government in the Empire may disappear, and that the day may not be far distant when a keen sense of public duty and a desire to serve the true interests of India will rise superior to all sectional considerations, and lead to union in whole-hearted efforts for the progress and prosperity of her people.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE FAREWELL DINNER TO THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI AT VICEREGAL LODGE, DELHI, ON THE 14TH NOVEMBER 1924.

14th November 1924.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Farewell Dinner given to the Honourable Sir Muhammad Shafi, retiring Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, at Viceregal Lodge on the 14th November 1924 :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The occasion of our meeting this evening is, as you are aware, to do honour to my distinguished guest and colleague Sir Muhammad Shafi. I experience both regret and pleasure as I make that observation, regret at his impending departure, pleasure at his still being with us. I intend to-night to dwell more on the pleasure of entertaining him, and of expressing my appreciation of his services than on the regret which nevertheless will ever be present as I speak. Five and a half years Sir Muhammad Shafi has been a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and he has been closely associated with me as a colleague during more than three and a half years. I desire to express my grateful thanks to him for the assistance and for the advice he has given me throughout this difficult period. It was in July

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1919 that he first joined the Council, a troubled and anxious moment. When he was selected as a Member of the Viceroy's Council in my predecessor's time he had already made his reputation as a Member of the Bar and in public life, and especially as a leader among the members of his own community. His family had been among the earliest, I believe, to realise that no Moslem could afford to lag behind in education in the then changing conditions of life. They sought a wider horizon and thus it was that he was selected for the legal profession, to which he then devoted himself. He and I have this in common. We are members of the Bar ; we are members of the Middle Temple. The same Inn that admitted him had received me in earlier days ; I can picture him in that Inn of Court wondering what the world had in store, and whether he would ever pass the examinations, and looking with awe upon the men who were already full-fledged barristers. There was no need for apprehension regarding his success ; he was duly called to the Bar, returned to Lahore and rose to the top of his profession, practising in the High Court, and after serving in high offices to which he was elected, especially by his own community and becoming the first Indian President of the Bar Association of the High Court of the Punjab, he was appointed a Member of the Cabinet. I don't quite know whither he will go when he leaves us ; I have some idea—if the secret information which comes to me is correct—that he intends to return to his early love. I mean profession. Again, if my information is reliable there is a multitude of suitors anxiously awaiting this reunion. Having paid his tribute to the law, and having I believe received a tribute from the law he is assured, I conceive, of increased tribute upon his return. During the time of his association with me, he has been a most loyal and devoted servant, colleague and friend. I shall not pass in review the many occasions I have had of testing him. Were I to attempt a biographical

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sketch of Sir Muhammad during the period of my intimate knowledge of him, I am afraid I should detain you at too great length ; I must refrain and must content myself with expressing briefly but sincerely my high appreciation of his valuable services during my period of office.

He gave proof during that period of special qualities among his many qualifications for Membership of my Council. His judgments were characterised by shrewd intelligence, keen political insight, a deep sense of loyalty to the causes he espoused, a high idealism tempered by practical considerations, devotion to the interests of India and an all-abiding belief in the higher destiny of India within the Empire. He never failed to undertake any task at my request, sometimes at inconvenience to himself ; but always willingly and with most faithful service. Perhaps the best proof of the esteem in which he is held and of the value set upon his service in high places was that as the period approached when by ordinary effluxion of time he would cease to hold office, he was asked to remain as Member for some further time and it is another tribute to his public spirit that although it was at personal inconvenience, he at once agreed to continue until the end of this year. I have spoken hitherto of my own association with you in your labours ; but I must not fail to convey that all the members of my Council desire to join wholeheartedly in these expressions of appreciation of Sir Muhammad's services. I would like to tell you about Sir Muhammad Shafi in the inner chamber of the Council, to disclose to you the secrets of our deliberations and decisions, but the secrets of the Council Chamber are not for the dinner table, even though it be graced by the distinguished and charming guests I see around me to-night. I must not lift the veil, but I could not forgive myself if I omitted to tell you

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that in addition to his ordinary duties as a Member of Council, taking his share of the burdens and responsibilities which fall upon us collectively, Sir Muhammad never failed to represent the Indian aspect to us to portray the Indian sentiment with all the force at his command and may I, in parenthesis, when speaking of him, say how very grateful I am to my three Indian colleagues for the faithful and trusted service they have always rendered in this respect. And Sir Muhammad has one other and a unique position. He is the Muhammadan Member of my Council, and thus in a special position to represent to me the Muhammadan point of view.

Were I to continue I should be led far deeper than I had intended. Therefore I content myself with saying that as Viceroy I shall part with him with deep regret, and that I fully realise the loss we shall suffer by his departure. Speaking from more personal aspects the close and intimate association with Sir Muhammad ripened early into a warm friendship which has continued unclouded throughout. There is one aspect of this association to which I desire to make special reference. During the time when there was considerable agitation among Mussalmans in India regarding affairs in the Near-East I was fortunate in having as my adviser Sir Muhammad, who is specially equipped to keep me informed of the feelings and views of his co-religionists. I refer to the period when there were doubts and difficulties in the minds of Indian Moslems regarding the situation with Turkey and the Treaty of Sevres. Sir Muhammad was of the greatest and most valuable assistance to me during that difficult period, and I may also say to the community of which he is so distinguished a member.

But that doesn't exhaust all we owe to Sir Muhammad. because he is responsible for the introduction of Lady Shafi

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 17th November 1924.

into our social circle. It was quite early in my advent to Simla that I had the pleasure of meeting Lady Shafi, and I desire to chronicle also how glad I am that she was graciously pleased to come amongst us, to give us the pleasure of her society and that of her daughters. Whatever may happen to a man, whatever honours may be in store for him, whatever fame he may have attained, there is naught to compare with the companionship of the lady who believed in him before anybody else did.

And now ladies and gentlemen, I must restrain myself from saying more. I ask you to drink to the health of Sir Muhammad Shafi—that is the formal toast and you may say quite quietly to yourselves at the time you drink “ and to Lady Shafi ”. Let us extend to them both our heartiest wishes for their happiness and prosperity in the future, when the Punjab and India will receive the benefit in public non-official life of Sir Muhammad Shafi’s public spirit and advocacy, which I as Viceroy and we as the Government of India will have lost.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING
OF THE SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI
ON THE 17TH NOVEMBER 1924.

17th Novem-
ber 1924.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Session of the Chamber of Princes in the Legislative Assembly Chamber at Delhi on the 17th November with the following speech :—

Your Highnesses.—One year and nine months have elapsed since the last meeting of this Chamber and it gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Highnesses once again at this, your

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 17th November 1924.

fourth session. I am very glad to see so many of Your Highnesses present to-day. Our meetings must be well attended if the Chamber is to fulfil the high purpose for which it was established. It was desirable to postpone the meeting which had been provisionally fixed for November 1923, as the Chamber had met in the previous February and it was thought unnecessary to have two meetings in one year. Matters of sufficient importance to justify discussion by the Chamber of Princes can, save in exceptional circumstances, be dealt with in one annual meeting. I have always been anxious that the Chamber should not be summoned except for the discussion of matters of real interest. I know that Your Highnesses share this view and earnestly desire that the Chamber should maintain and improve its position and not be open to criticism in this respect. For this reason, I welcome the appearance of so many private resolutions among the Agenda which will add to the interest of our deliberations.

We have to mourn the loss of five Members of this Chamber who have passed away since the last occasion on which we met, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, in whom your Order has lost a most distinguished Member, His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura, His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh, the Raja of Chhota Udepur and the Raj Saheb of Akalkot. Your Highnesses will, I feel assured, desire with me to record our deep regret that they have passed away from us. There is in addition a Member of this Chamber to whom our heart-felt condolence is due. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has suffered two grievous bereavements within the space of a few months, and I am sure that Your Highnesses will desire that an expression of your profound sympathy with Her Highness and of your regret at the loss of her two distinguished sons should be communicated to her.

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Since February 1923 the Standing Committee of this Chamber has met on three occasions and good progress has been made in regard to the questions under discussion by the Committee. Four Resolutions dealing with matters of considerable importance have been issued by the Government of India since the last meeting of the Chamber. These Resolutions deal with the grant of prospecting licenses and mining leases, and with the construction and maintenance of railways, telegraph systems, and telephone systems in Indian States. These questions have now been settled to the satisfaction both of the Imperial Government and the States, and agreement has been reached in regard to those matters which call for mutual assistance and co-operation. The States will, in future, enjoy a position of greater independence in regard to the development of railways, telegraphs, telephones and mines within their own territories, and I trust it will be found that the removal of well-meant restrictions will stimulate enterprise.

I now turn to the Agenda which is to be placed before Your Highnesses on this occasion. You will receive from Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikaner, Nawanagar and Alwar statements regarding their valuable work as Representatives of India at meetings and Conferences in Europe in 1922, 1923 and 1924. Our grateful appreciation is due to Their Highnesses and we felicitate them upon the very able and distinguished manner in which they performed their responsible tasks, and we shall listen with interest to the statements they are about to make. Your Highnesses will, I am sure, desire to extend a hearty welcome to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, who has just returned from Geneva, where he took a prominent part in the deliberations of one of the most important sessions of the League of Nations hitherto held. We warmly congratulate His Highness on the highly successful manner in

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His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 17th November 1924.

which he has carried out the duties undertaken by him and we deeply appreciate the keenness and enthusiasm which have inspired him to insist on laying his statement before the Chamber, while the events to which it refers are still fresh in our memories. I am well aware that these duties are often undertaken by Ruling Princes at some sacrifice of personal convenience. The importance of these meetings cannot be over-estimated and I desire to express my high appreciation of the spirit that prompts them to engage in these responsibilities and to devote their capacities to these services to the Empire and India.

The Reports of the Standing Committee on wireless telegraphy, dealings between Indian States and capitalists and financial agents, the construction of tramways, and the employment of European British subjects, pensioners, and aliens in Indian States will be laid before Your Highnesses for consideration. The summary regarding wireless telegraphy and telephony in Indian States, which has been prepared by the Committee in consultation with the Departments of Government concerned, contains proposals for an organisation which the members of the Committee recommend as necessary for effective co-operation between the wireless authorities in British India and the authorities in the Indian States. Your Highnesses will readily understand the need for co-ordination if an effective system of wireless communication is to be established throughout this great country. The whole atmosphere is open to messages, but, unless they are properly modulated and controlled, they will clash in the air and interfere with each other and this wonderful medium of communication may be rendered ineffectual. In regard to the summary on the subject of dealings between Indian States and capitalists you will observe that the Committee recommend that the existing

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system in force should be liberalised. They also recommend amendment in a similar spirit of the arrangements in regard to tramways in Indian States, while the proposals regarding the future employment of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens in Indian States constitute a considerable relaxation of the restrictions at present in force. On this, as on other subjects, the Government of India will reserve their opinion until the views of Your Highnesses have been ascertained and the necessary authorities consulted.

There remains the summary relating to compensation for railway lands in Indian States, which is little more than a consolidation of the present rules, and that which deals with radio broad-casting, a recent development which in British India is still in its infancy.

I now pass on to deal with certain other matters which, though they are not before the Chamber for consideration, are, I know, of great interest to many Members of your Order.

In the first place, it is, I think, desirable that I should explain to Your Highnesses the position in regard to the recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Chamber on the 5th February 1923, to consider the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission. That Committee submitted a report to the Chamber on the 10th February making certain recommendations in regard to the future fiscal policy of the Government of India towards the Indian States. Since then the question has been under consideration by the Departments of the Government of India which are concerned. Your Highnesses will readily understand that the question of the allocation of the customs revenue, which is the most important of the recommendations made by the Committee, is one of grave difficulty. The consideration of this matter has occupied

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many months and I regret that it is not yet complete. Before the next session of the Chamber, however, I hope that we shall have arrived at certain conclusions and that I shall be in a position to inform Your Highnesses of our attitude in regard to this question.

Another question, very dear to certain distinguished Members of this Chamber, is that which has come to be known as the question of the analytical and synthetical methods. Your Highnesses will remember that, when the codification of political practice was first taken up in 1919, it was suggested at the Standing Committee that an analytical rather than a synthetical method of procedure should be followed, that the general position of the Indian States *vis-a-vis* the Government of India should first be authoritatively stated, and that this should be taken as the basis for the decision of individual points and for the codification of political practice. Lord Chelmsford in his opening speech at the Conference held in November 1919 mentioned this suggestion which he described as a proposal that, in the hope of defining the true position of the States *vis-a-vis* the Government of India, we should scrutinise and test our practice in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of treaties and engagements, rather than by endeavouring to derive principles from the body of case-law which had grown up.

The latter method of procedure is still in operation, although, as must be expected, it occasionally gives rise to difficulties. It was suggested recently at the Standing Committee that an attempt might be made to overcome the difficulties by recourse to analytical methods. A commencement was made with the examination of the most ancient treaties between the East India Company and the Indian States. It was found, however, as I should have anticipated, before the

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examination had proceeded very far, that this method of analysing the relations of the Indian States with the British Government presented great difficulties and that it would be unlikely to produce within a reasonable time any very useful results. Further exploration will be made with the object of attempting to deduce provisional principles by means other than the synthetic method. This will necessarily take time and we cannot be confident that the right solution will be found in this direction. In any event it must be distinctly understood that the further examination to which I have adverted will in no sense commit either the Government of India or the Princes to the adoption of the result.

Your Highnesses may be interested to learn the progress made towards the establishment of direct relations between the Government of India and those States which have hitherto been in political relations with Local Governments. In November, 1921, all the salute States in the Punjab were taken into direct relations with the Government of India. In October 1923 an Agent to the Governor-General was appointed for the five States in the Madras Presidency, and only a few weeks ago the three Agencies of Kathiawar, Cutch and Palanpur were brought into direct relations with the Central Government through an Agent to the Governor-General. A few days hence I propose to visit Rajkot in order to acquaint myself with the local conditions and to assure the Princes and Chiefs in the new Western India States Agency of the personal interest which I and my Government feel in them and their affairs.

Your Highnesses will, I think, agree that considerable progress has been made in giving effect to the policy of direct relations, but the process must of necessity be a gradual one.

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The analogous problem in the case of the States already in direct relations with the Government of India has received my earnest consideration. Nearly four years ago the Gwalior State was separated from the Central India Agency and was brought into direct relations with the Government of India through a single intermediary. The case of the Rajputana Agency has also engaged the attention of the Government of India within the last few months. I am not in a position at present to make any announcement, but you may depend upon it that no decision will be reached save after most careful examination and consideration. .

Your Highnesses, among the many duties of my office none is of greater importance or carries higher distinction than that of presiding at the deliberations of the Princes and Rulers at the Narendra Mandal. Permit me to add that this duty has become a pleasure, I regard its performance rather as a high privilege than as a heavy task. During the period of my Viceroyalty I have had the felicity to become acquainted with many of the Princes and Rulers, and, as time has progressed, the acquaintance has in numerous instances ripened into warm friendship. Consequently in each succeeding year I have approached the date of the assembling of this Chamber with increased pleasure by reason of the daily meetings which ensue during this period, with deeper knowledge of Your Highnesses' burdens and responsibilities resulting from my closer and more intimate study of them, and with wider sympathy and understanding consequent upon my own ever-growing experience of the perplexities and difficulties of Government. It is unfortunately a proposition of general application that, notwithstanding the most earnest desire on the part of a Ruler to administer the State in the highest interests of the people and his determination to labour persistently

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for their advantage, his actions, however beneficent, will be subject to misunderstanding and alas ! too often to misrepresentation. But the wise and just Ruler will be prepared for disappointments and ready to meet difficulties. He has learnt that the march along the road of progress and development is not easy to travel and that obstacles are certain to be encountered. These observations will doubtless lead Your Highnesses to reflections upon the political movements in British India since the introduction of the Reforms. I know that Your Highnesses have not failed to watch the course of events and have pondered upon their significance and their possible reactions in the Indian States. To some of Your Highnesses the thought may even have occurred whether those rights and privileges hitherto so scrupulously respected, whether those relations defined or undefined of the States and their Rulers with Government and the Crown in the past so carefully observed, whether that degree of sovereignty possessed by each Ruling Prince up to this time unquestioned and undisturbed, might not in some way be affected by the changes made in the structure of Government in British India. I feel sure that, if any such apprehension should exist in any mind, I need only recall to Your Highnesses that in the Royal Proclamation announcing His Majesty the King-Emperor's assent to the Government of India Bill of 1919, His Majesty in the clearest terms announced his determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India ; and at the inauguration of this Chamber by the King-Emperor's command His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught restated in the following memorable words the key-notes of Imperial policy in regard to these questions :—

“ The sanctity of treaties is a cardinal article of Imperial policy. It was affirmed by my beloved mother the

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Great Queen Victoria in her famous Proclamation of 1858. It was reaffirmed by King Edward VII, and His present Majesty King George V has once more announced in his Proclamation his determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes. Nothing is wanting to mark the solemnity of this time-honoured engagement ; and no words of mine are needed to reassure Your Highnesses that the British Government will stand faithfully by its promises.”

There are, however, aspects in which the spirit of progress and development may affect the States. While Your Highness can rest assured that my Government recognise freely the internal sovereignty to which your various treaties and engagements entitle you, the British Government and my Government know that they can rely upon you to continue to administer your States with justice and enlightenment. I am well aware that Your Highnesses realise and treasure the confidence that His Majesty and Government repose in you and that it is your desire ever to strive for the greater happiness and prosperity of your subjects and so to add by your acts to the strength of the Empire of which your States form a part. With changing conditions it may not always be easy to compass your desire, but the Princes have the inestimable advantage and assistance of one of the greatest of all possessions, for there is no finer heritage than the trust and attachment which the subjects of a well administered State have for their Ruler. It will always be the task of an enlightened Ruler fully to grasp and understand changing conditions and by sagacious policy to guide and encourage the currents of thought into wise and proper channels ; and thus he will retain unimpaired, nay even strengthened, those feelings of confidence and respect with

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the luncheon given by His Highness the Raja of Bariya on the 23rd November 1924.

which the traditions of loyalty incline the subject to look on the Ruler of the State. I am confident that, true to the obligations of your Order, Your Highnesses will meet new difficulties when they arise with wisdom and sympathy, ever keeping in view the prosperity and contentment of your subjects and ever conscious that in their happiness rests your strength and your reward.

HIS EXCELLENCE THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LUNCHEON
GIVEN BY HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF BARIYA.

23rd No.
November
1924.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to His Highness the Raja of Bariya's speech at the Luncheon at Bariya on the 23rd November 1924 :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*On my own behalf and on behalf of Her Excellency I thank Your Highness very warmly for the kind terms in which you have proposed our health. It has been a great pleasure to me to have had even this brief opportunity of forming a closer acquaintance with Your Highness.

I welcome Your Highness' loyal assurances. Coming as they do from a Ruler whose State has had a long and honourable connection with the British Government, who served in person with the forces of the Empire during the Great War and who strove with men, money and in other ways to assist to bring our cause to its successful termination, I deeply value Your Highness' assurances.

I wish time had allowed me to see more of Your Highness' State ; but it has been a pleasure to have had even this short meeting with Your Highness. I thank you for your kind hospitality and wish Your Highness and your State all prosperity.

25th November 1924.—HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE PRIZE DISTRIBUTION AT THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE AT RAJKOT.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Distribution of Prizes at the Rajkumar College at Rajkot on the 25th November 1924 :—

Mr. Principal.—Let me assure you that it is a special pleasure to me to be here to-day and to present the prizes to the Kumars. I make a point of visiting Chiefs' Colleges whenever I can secure an opportunity of doing so. In view of my relations as Viceroy and Governor-General with the Indian States I consider it of primary importance for the Viceroy to become acquainted with these institutions and to keep in close and intimate touch with them. The Chiefs' Colleges occupy a unique position in India. They are the training grounds of the character and capacity of those who will hereafter be entrusted with great responsibilities in the Indian States ; and from this consideration they must always possess an especial interest for the Viceroy and make a special claim upon his sympathy and attention.

I have already visited three Chiefs' Colleges in India and some of the three more than once ; and I am glad to have this opportunity of now visiting the oldest of all the Chiefs' Colleges. You, Mr. Principal, have explained that visits to this College have not figured as items in Viceregal Tours in the past in proportion to the long-established reputation of the College and its importance. I am afraid that the geographical position of Rajkot and the distance from the Viceroy's headquarters have been factors operating towards this result. I can however assure you that this College and the good work it has achieved have not passed unperceived or unrecognised by myself or by my Government ; and in the future one of the results of the direct relations now inaugurated and established between my Government and the Western India States can only be to place me and my Government in even nearer and more intimate touch with the progress and achievements of the Rajkumar College.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Prize Distribution at the Rajkumar College at Rajkot.

The Princes of Kathiawar are to be congratulated on the wisdom and generosity which prompted them and their predecessors to build the College and to maintain it for many years without support from outside sources. This foresight at the outset and the sustained interest subsequently taken by the Princes in the affairs of the College after its foundation have borne fruit which must be a source of satisfaction to all those connected with its history. The College has been fortunate in possessing a succession of distinguished Principals who have made the interests of the College their dearest concern and have spared no efforts to contribute to its efficiency and to enhance its fair name. I have met some of the past Principals of this College and have noted the pride and pleasure with which they look back on their work here and their connection with this College. Lastly, as you, Mr. Principal, have rightly pointed out, a great debt of gratitude is due to the successive Governors and to the Government of Bombay and to the Agents to the Governor in Kathiawar who have always taken a lively interest in the fortunes of the College and have at all times been ready with support and advice whenever any difficulties have occurred. I trust that the Government of Bombay will still preserve an interest in the College, and that youths from the States, which remain in relation with the Bombay Government, will continue to come for their education to this College as heretofore.

The Government of India early recognised the importance of this College and as you, Mr. Principal, have recalled, have for many years in the past made subventions to its finances. I feel sure that a most successful future is in store for the College under the wise guidance of its ruling body. I can assure that body of my warm personal interest in their efforts and actions; and they can look with confidence to my Government and my officers for advice and assistance whenever they are required. There are many questions, such as procuring the right type

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Prize Distribution at the Rajkumar College at Rajkot.

martial associations of the races from which they sprung and of the spirit of loyalty to the King-Emperor for which the Indian States are justly renowned, were true to their traditions and in some cases even to death.

I congratulate all those who have won prizes. To those who have not attained success in this direction I say "Do not give up hope. Remember that even genius has been defined as an infinite capacity for taking pains ; and though this definition may not be a comprehensive statement of the component parts of this quality, there is, nevertheless, no doubt that most of the prizes in life come as a reward of steady and maintained endeavour". Many of the boys before me will be responsible in years to come for the administration of States and for the welfare of subjects committed to their charge. To them let me enjoin the reflection that great privileges likewise entail great responsibilities. I earnestly commend them, in the spirit of the teaching and the experiences which have been their lot at this College, so to discharge this great and solemn trust that when the time comes for them to relinquish it, they may lay down the stewardship of their States with a happy mind, conscious that they have shed lustre on their Order, on their own names and on their States, and proud of duties faithfully and honourably performed even towards the humblest of their subjects ; and I hope that all the other boys at this College will also carry with them in after-life a recollection of their days at this College and the training which they received in these beautiful surroundings. To them I say "Be a credit to the good name of your College. Show by your deeds the benefits of the teaching you have received ; be true to the fine traditions that are honoured here and carry into your actions in relation to your fellowmen that good tone which was your watchword at College".

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE DURBAR AT RAJKOT.

25th November
1924.

At the Durbar at Rajkot held on the 25th November, His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech :—

Your Highnesses, Chiefs and Durbaries.—I meet you to-day upon an occasion which marks an epoch in the history of your country. A hundred and seventeen years have passed since the British Government first came in touch with Kathiawar and negotiated through the medium of Colonel Walker the first engagements with its Rulers. It is difficult in the present days of peace and prosperity to picture to ourselves exactly the conditions which then existed, the constant warfare between State and State, between Rulers and their own Nobles, and above all the misery and devastation caused by the periodic incursions of the “Mulgiri” armies of outside powers. But we know by hearsay the great complexity of the problems facing those who sought a lasting settlement and their difficulties in securing it. The British Government had to deal with the existing position and every Chief or Holder who could show an authority established and independent at the movement seemed entitled to claim recognition. A settlement had to be made, and made quickly, and it has resulted in Kathiawar in the emergence of a number of States and Estates with distinct jurisdictions unparalleled in any area of similar size in India.

That the early representatives of the British Government should have countenanced an arrangement so full of administrative complexity is a remarkable testimony to their desire to secure to each Ruler his apparent rights and to protect the weaker against the stronger. If they had foreseen its full implications, it is possible that some other policy might have been adopted. For the age of warfare was quickly succeeded by one of litigation and the long and bitter disputes between State and State and between States and their own privileged holders in the Political Courts have brought little profit to the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Durbar at Rajkot.

material and economic development of Kathiawar. Much of this was perhaps inevitable. At the close of a period of strife and chaos many rights and claims must of necessity remain undefined which remain to be determined by legal methods and with the help of trained minds. But I rejoice to learn that this period has passed or is passing and the massive interstatal cases whose decisions taxed the energies of the successive Governments and Secretaries of State have for the most part reached the calm of final settlement.

Throughout these hundred and seventeen years and until to-day you have been in political relations with the Government of India through the medium of the Bombay Government. The Officers of that Government have been your Political Agents and among them have been many whose names will for ever be cherished and honoured in Kathiawar. They have helped you and your sons in your difficulties, guided you in your perplexities, sympathised in your troubles and given encouragement to measures for the public weal and betterment. In all these efforts they have reflected the spirit of their Government, and successive Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawar have had cause to remember gratefully the help, sympathy and personal friendship of many Governors of Bombay. It was not possible that the decisions arrived at from time to time should be pleasing to all interests, but you will realise that the geographical and political conditions of your country are such as to produce an infinity of conflicting claims among which decisions satisfactory to all parties are often difficult. In the light of modern ideas you may criticise past methods, but you must not forget that the system that has served you well for over one hundred years was the outcome of the conditions of the country as a whole and not of any individual State within it. I feel sure that the States of this Agency on the threshold of a new era have nothing but gratitude for the Bombay Government that has in the past guided them so successfully along the paths

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of progress. I have yet to visit your States and see the conditions for myself. But I am informed that in fine public buildings, well-equipped institutions, hospitals, schools and dispensaries, and in good roads you can bear comparison with any other group of States in India. You have flourishing ports and cities and the economic development of your country is assisted by the net-work of railways which intersects it in every direction. Your predecessors with wise forethought founded the Rajkumar College at Rajkot and the Talukdars School at Wadhwan for the education of their sons. They have their reward in the reputation of their successors who rank high among the most cultivated and intelligent Indian Rulers. In surveying the progress attained and the amenities enjoyed to-day, you will readily acknow'edge how much you owe to the past help and encouragement of the Bombay Political Officers ; and at a moment when the traditional connection with Bombay is being severed I would wish as the Head of the Government of India to express to that Govern'ment my warm appreciation of the devotion and success with which during over hundred years it has discharged its trust in the Cutch, Kathiawar and Palanpur Agencies.

But changing times bring new needs and many forces have been at work leading inevitably to certain readjustments in the relations of the British Government with the Indian States. The war drew them closer together than ever before. The Ruling Princes made the Empire's cause their own. They proved for all time the strength of their bond with the Empire and their real place and importance in the commonwealth of India. Other influences have tended in the same direction. British Indian systems of administration have been adopted by many States and British Officers have been borrowed to introduce and consolidate them. The States share the benefits of the British Indian postal and telegraph arrange-

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not receive the consideration they merit. To those afflicted by these forebodings I would say "Be of good cheer and be not afraid". I share in Lord Curzon's surprise that no Viceroy except himself had in the past found the time to come to your country. Its past history however is full of noble traditions and the number and importance of its Rulers, the complexity of its problems and the interests of the land itself which contains some of the most ancient and venerated shrines in India, might well have justified many such visits. I need not now seek for explanations. They may without doubt be found partly in your geographical position, for you lie somewhat apart from the main lines of travel throughout India, and partly in your intimate and direct connection with one of the greater Provincial Governments. I can only assure you for myself and my successors that the States and Estates combined in the Western India States Agency will in future have as strong a claim on the personal interest, time and consideration of the Viceroy as any other State or group of States in India. I am giving an earnest of my promise in seeking the earliest possible opportunity of coming to the new Residency to address you to-day. When I leave Kathiawar a week hence I hope to take away with me the increased knowledge and more vivid interest that can only be obtained by seeing your country and making the personal acquaintance of its Rulers.

I am well aware that your conditions are in some respects special, and that your jurisdictional arrangements and relations with the Political Officers have differed from those obtaining in States now in direct relations with the Government of India. You need not fear that the transference from the control of the Government of Bombay necessarily implies any alteration in the systems or arrangements hitherto existing. Changes will no doubt come, for all institutions must move to meet new conditions. But none affecting your position or privileges can ever

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receive my approval or concurrence without the fullest regard being paid to local sentiment and feeling. I ask you to come freely to my Agent and his officers for help and advice. They will at all times be ready to hear your representations and to afford you assistance to the fullest extent of their powers and I can myself assure you of the personal and sympathetic consideration of the Viceroy and the Government of India.

As my first Agent in the Western India States Agency I have selected Mr. Watson who is already personally known to many of you. I have chosen him as possessing special qualifications for the appointment. Twenty-two years ago he served among you as Political Agent and since then, as Private Secretary to two Governors and as Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay, he has had opportunities of keeping in touch with your problems and of maintaining personal friendship with yourselves. He has acted as my Agent in the States of Rajputana and as my representative in the important and progressive State of Mysore. He is, therefore, well acquainted both with your own conditions and those of other Indian States and his experience should fit him to discharge efficiently the onerous duties which lie before him. He has my full confidence and I commend him to all of you not only as my representative and the exponent of the views and policy of the Government of India but also as a wise friend and counsellor.

As I have observed, the age of warfare in Kathiawar was followed by one of frequent and bitter interstatal litigation in which the best interests of the Province as a whole have sometimes been obscured. I am happy to believe that the worst of this period is over and the more important differences have been reconciled either by compromise or by final decision. I recognise that in many directions you have in the past shown that you are conscious of a corporate life and general interests. You have your annual meeting of Karbharis to discuss the

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administration of corporate funds to which you all subscribe and you have the noble buildings and institutions in Rajkot intended for the welfare of all the States. I have been gratified to learn that the administration of individual States show signs of steady progress and improvement. Agriculture and trade are being fostered, revenues are being improved and expenditure upon objects of public utility is growing. The unity of interest between a Ruler and his people is being more widely realised. But there is another side to the picture. I have at times been painfully aware that the spirit of compromise and mutual concession between States is still not so strong as it might be in Kathiawar. I have had instances before me which showed that the old spirit is not entirely dead ; that disputes still occur which seem due rather to hereditary antagonism than to real divergence of interests and that differences which might quickly be settled in a reasonable spirit of give and take, are fought to a finish with a lamentable expenditure of money and energy. On this occasion therefore when a new system of relations with the Government of India is being happily inaugurated I would appeal to you, Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawar, to inaugurate also a new period of mutual toleration, compromise and real co-operation in your relations with each other. Your problems are often admittedly difficult : they could not be otherwise in a country containing so many interlocking jurisdictions. But it should be recognised that your highest and truest interests are common. On the material side alone it is clear that everything that tends to increase the economic prosperity and trade of the country as a whole must be of advantage to you all. The pursuance of disputes to gratify statal or purely personal interest must inevitably set back the general progress of the country and must retard and hamper the common well-being. Where your interests are really divergent a settlement fair to all parties can always be reached by mutual discussion

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through your Political Officers provided you approach it in the spirit of reason, friendship, and mutual concession. If agreement is not reached in the initial stages and the decision of the Government of India or Secretary of State has to be sought, it is inevitable that in the process feelings become exacerbated and neighbourly relations difficult. Those of you who meet me here to-day represent a new generation ; for the last link with the past was broken by the recent lamented death of the old Chief of Lakhtar, full of years and honours. Many of you have been educated at your Rajkumar College—in itself a striking example of co-operation and combined effort. You represent a high standard of intellect and attainments among the Rulers of India and you are in touch as your ancestors could never have been with the great world movements of the present day. Perhaps the greatest of all is that towards settlement of all differences by discussion and arbitration in place of war. His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar—whom I am delighted to see here to-day—have represented India on the Councils of the Empire and at the League of Nations ; and I doubt not have returned imbued with the new spirit. They can give you first-hand information of the new feelings that stir in the Conferences of Nations. You have advantages denied to your predecessors who were closer to the memories of the troubled past. For you have been trained in state-craft and can perceive more clearly than they could how the public weal should override the selfish and the sectional. I hope and believe that you will assimilate the new teachings and that the era which I inaugurate to-day will be marked by a new attitude and a new outlook, by neighbourly friendship instead of antagonism, by compromise instead of litigation and memorials to the Secretary of State.

In one other direction I may be permitted a word of counsel and I would address it in especial to the Talukdars, Estate

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Holders and Girassias who own so large a share of the lands in Kathiawar. Recognise that the welfare of your cultivators is your own profit and encourage their labours by generous terms of tenancy. It is on the contentment and prosperity of their peasantry that the influence and position of the Estate Holders depends. A system of excessive sub-division of ownership where the owner is not the cultivator must always be an obstacle to improved and progressive agriculture. The area becomes too small to support both cultivator and landlord. I have no desire to criticise or interfere with family customs handed down from hoary antiquity. I would only ask you who belong to an enlightened generation to recognise how they militate against economic prosperity and to do what you can to mitigate their disadvantages. You live in an age where many careers in the army and elsewhere are open to the cadets of noble families. If young Rajputs and Kathis will imitate the enterprise of their ancestors and seek fame and fortune by their own exertions, the increasing burden on the land will be lightened and their families may again attain their ancient well-being. Princes and Chiefs, this is my advice to you to-day.

It will be a source of satisfaction to me if you will carry my words away with you and ponder over them, for I am convinced that they may help to accelerate the progress and enhance the prosperity of the States and Estates in this new Agency. You have experienced difficult times in the last two decades. You have been required to fight against pestilence and famine ; and crop failure has too often been followed by lean years of scarcity. I trust that a better cycle is now approaching. Heaven has blessed the present year with copious and sufficient rainfall, trade is reviving after a period of depression ; and this Agency should share in the general prosperity of India. The omens are auspicious ; but whatever the future may hold of good or evil, I would once again assure you that you can

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always rely upon the ready help of the Government of India and its officers when you require it, and upon personal interest, friendship and sympathetic encouragement from the Viceroy.

Your Highnesses and Chiefs, you have to bear great responsibilities as administrators and rulers of your States. I feel sure that you can be relied upon ever to place in the forefront the welfare, advancement and happiness of your people.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET AT 25th November
RAJKOT.

ember
1924.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Banquet held at Rajkot on the 25th November:—

Your Highnesses, Ruling Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawar, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most warmly on behalf of Her Excellency and myself for the very kind welcome you have given us and for the cordial manner in which you have drunk our health. Let me assure Your Highnesses that it was a very great pleasure to Her Excellency and myself to accept your invitation to this banquet to-night. The Viceroy has many claims on his time and attention and many preoccupations; and our stay in Kathiawar is in consequence all too brief. For this reason I greatly welcome all opportunities of coming into touch with its Rulers. With many of Your Highnesses I can already claim friendship, for we have met on several occasions at Delhi and elsewhere; but I look to this visit for opportunities to form the acquaintance of those with whom I have not previously been brought into direct contact; and I trust that many acquaintances now made, for the first time during this visit will ripen into that fuller degree of intimacy which it is desirable should exist between

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the Viceroy and Governor-General and the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, and which is the foundation of mutual esteem and mutual trust.

I share your sorrow at the sad bereavement which has deprived us of the presence to-night of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh; but in spite of this melancholy event His Highness has most kindly insisted on my fulfilling my promise to visit his State and I look forward to the pleasure of meeting him during the next few days.

I am delighted to learn from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar that the change of system in the relations with the Western India States which has now been put into operation has met with your approval. The importance which I attach to it can be judged from the direct personal interest I have always taken in dealing with the scheme from its inception and in my presence at Rajkot at the earliest possible moment to inaugurate its execution in person. I and my Government welcome that closer touch with the Rulers and their States which will naturally result from it. My Agent and his officers will use every effort to secure its smooth operation in practice; and now that it has happily been inaugurated I look to the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Western India States to assist my Government to make it a success. You will realise that the creation of a new Agency and the bringing into direct relations with the Government of India of States formerly in relation with a Provincial Government inevitably throws an increased volume of work upon me and my Government. For this reason in these new Agencies recently constituted, while the welfare of the States and all cases of importance affecting them will always command the most sympathetic attention of my Government and be the subject of our anxious concern, I trust that all cases of only minor importance may be settled as far

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as possible with the advice of the Agent to the Governor-General and his Political Officers between the States in a spirit of toleration and goodwill. You will appreciate how important a place a feeling of good sense and compromise occupies in the settlement of cases of this nature; and if full play is not given to this friendly feeling and if every case is referred to the highest authority, not only must relations between States become unduly exacerbated, but the Political Department of the Government of India will be overburdened with the task of the examination of a very large number of cases and the consideration of more important questions will in consequence be retarded. This process in turn must also delay progress in carrying out further steps towards the extension of the system of direct relations between the Government of India and the Indian States,—a result which you and I would alike deplore.

His Highness the Jam Sahib has referred with just pride to the ancient traditions and history of the Western States; I have listened with keen attention to his historical retrospect. I am aware that the annals of the rule of the Rajput Princes dates back to the very dawn of history, and that the antiquity and distinction of the houses of the Princes and Chiefs in this part of India can challenge comparison with any elsewhere. It is for this reason among others that Her Excellency and I are looking forward with the greatest interest to our further travels among these States. When I am the guest of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh, I hope to see his ancient city and to obtain a distant view of the Girnar with its venerable shrines and monuments; and while I am in Jamnagar I know I shall have the privilege of appreciating a happy blending of the old with the new India. I shall hope on some other occasion to make more extensive visits to the States in this Agency and to see the seaports of Bhavnagar and Porbandar, Dhrangadra with

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its salt works, the Shetrunga hill of Palitana and many other places and important cities of which you are rightly proud.

Let me take this opportunity of expressing my deep appreciation of the splendid service which the States in this part of India rendered to the Empire in the Great War. These services were of a piece with your martial traditions, and that high reputation for loyalty to the Crown which it has been the pride of the Indian States to maintain and cherish. I know that Princes and people alike made common cause in sacrifice ; and I am confident that should the need ever again arise, the Empire can count in the fullest measure on the loyal co-operation of the Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawar and of the people of these States. I am glad to learn that some of the younger relatives of the Ruling families of these States have adopted military careers in the Indian Army ; and I trust that this connection will continue and be extended ; and that boys of this stamp in the rising generation will turn their attention to studying at Dehra Dun with a view to qualifying themselves to enter Sandhurst and receive King's Commissions. I am glad to hear that the Indian State forces scheme has been approved by a number of Durbars and has been adopted in many States. Well-organised State troops form a potential auxiliary of great value to the forces of the Empire ; and in addition, though the old days when bandits and dacoits infested Kathiawar are happily past, troops of this character within the State themselves form a powerful insurance against any serious outbreak of disorder and are an effective weapon for dealing firmly with any sporadic defiance or breach of law and order which may occur.

Her Excellency has been greatly touched by the kind references His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib has made on your behalf to her and her work and asks me to express her gratitude. The warm interest continuously shown by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India in her philanthropic

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schemes for the welfare of Indian women and children has been a source of constant encouragement to her; and the good results which she has been enabled to achieve have in a large measure been due to the sympathy and support which they have so freely extended to her projects.

I thank you also for the very kind appreciation of myself which His Highness the Jam Sahib has expressed in such felicitous terms. I value these expressions the more because with your own responsibilities as Rulers to guide you, I feel you can correctly envisage with understanding and sympathy the heavy burden of responsibility continually lying upon the Viceroy and the many difficulties and problems daily confronting him. I am greatly encouraged by the thought that I enjoy your confidence, and that I can feel assured of your trust in my sympathy and sincerity of purpose; and when times have been most anxious and difficult let me assure you it has been no small alleviation of my perplexities to know that I could place implicit trust in the loyalty of the Indian Princes and their States to my Government, to the interests of the Empire and to the person and throne of the King-Emperor.

For those set in high authority, be they Viceroys or Ruling Princes, there is, in my view, only one rule, ever to seek to know the truth, to do justice and fearlessly to carry out what they conceive to be their duty, always bearing in mind the interests, the welfare and the prosperity of the people committed to their charge.

I have followed no other rule; and even in these exceptional times of changing conditions, with new problems and new perplexities, I am confident that I can find no safer guide.

I thank you again most warmly on my own behalf and on behalf of Her Excellency for your cordial welcome and hospitality. Let me assure you that when our visit comes to a close, we shall take away the happiest recollections of the Western India States and their Rulers.

29th November
1924.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE MONTAGU MEMORIAL AT JAMNAGAR.

In unveiling the Memorial to Mr. Montagu at Jamnagar on the 29th November, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Your Highness invited me to unveil the Memorial you had determined to erect to Mr. Montagu. Your object was to commemorate the achievements for India of one who held high place in the service of the King-Emperor and who devoted some $8\frac{1}{2}$ out of $11\frac{1}{2}$ years' service in Government directly to India. When you formulated your request to me, I assented most willingly, gratefully. You had in mind, Your Highness, to erect a memorial during the lifetime of the man, still young, who had devoted so much thought to India. You had determined, so far as it lay in your power, to erect the statue whilst he was still alive because you were anxious to testify here in the capital city of the State over which you rule, here in the Empire of India, by a monument to his achievements. I on the other hand rejoiced exceedingly at the opportunity of being able to take part in the ceremony especially during a momentary eclipse of Mr. Montagu in the political firmament. I was glad of the opportunity of being present to-day and unveiling the Memorial and of expressing my appreciation of him. I felt that he might in the future be of even greater service to India. Little did Your Highness think that we should be taking part on the appointed day in a ceremony to honour him whose death is still at this moment casting a shadow over us. We did not realise that this young statesman would have passed from us ere the memorial had been completed and this ceremony of unveiling had taken place. Your Highness, you have spoken eloquently of Mr. Montagu's achievements for India. I have been associated with him in political life from his entry into it. I knew him when he was still an undergraduate at Cambridge. We remained associated to the end ; when I was appointed Viceroy I spent two months or more in the closest and most intimate communion before I took up office here in

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India. I knew his ideals and his enthusiasms. I felt the effect of his passion, his devotion to India ; not surely to India as India ; for his mission was that of binding India closer to the Empire, that great commonwealth of nations. India is united at this moment in the testimony paid to the memory of Edwin Montagu. All political parties, all sections of the Press have united here in India in their expressions of admiration—high admiration—may I say of gratitude to Mr. Montagu for his labours for India. Human beings sometimes fail to realise the value of their possessions until they have to count up their loss. Mr. Montagu laboured for India ; it was not only for British India, it was for India, that is British India and the Ruling States.

Your Highness referred to his work in connection with the Chamber of Princes. Your Highness helped in the construction, Your Highness was one whose opinions assisted Mr. Montagu and with him you saw arise the edifice we now know as Narendra Mandal or the Chamber of Princes,—the Chamber upon which Your Highness by your contribution if you will permit me to say in your presence—has helped to shed lustre.

Your Highness, my object to-day is to add my tribute to the eloquent utterance delivered by you this morning, and to take part in the unveiling of the monument,—I believe I am the first Viceroy who has had the privilege of paying a visit to Your Highness in your own State, and also the first to unveil a statue to the great statesman whose praises you have sung. I am only one of the great multitude who recognise the value of the achievements of Mr. Montagu. You have spoken with your accustomed warmth and generosity of mind, I would only further add that Mr. Montagu devoted tireless industry, unbounded energy and passionate enthusiasm to the cause for which he laboured,—an India within the Empire based on liberty and on justice, and for the advancement

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of her destiny until she reached her ultimate aim in the great constellation we call the British Empire. He was a true Imperial servant ; he had studied the problems of India, the relations of the Princes and Chiefs with the King-Emperor and the Government, the intricacies and complexities of administration and Government by the Viceroy and the Government of India with the Secretary of State and the India Council, the relations between the Provinces and the Governors. He gave his mind to the study with sympathetic understanding of the problems of the people of India. The fervour of his advocacy, the devoted zeal of Mr. Montagu are well known. The news of his death came to me and to Your Highness as a great shock. It was not only that I felt the loss of a great public servant who loved and worked for India ; when I heard the news—I had a sense of deep personal loss for he was an old and highly valued friend. He believed that India's road to the ultimate goal of responsible self-government was through an avenue of co-operation on the one side, good-will on the other and with sunshine and harmony all the way.

Now, Your Highness, I will take the opportunity which you have afforded me and proceed to unveil this monument with the knowledge that I am really assisting in the good work you have undertaken. Stone effigies represent the picture of the man, but they cannot give the mind, they cannot reflect the spirit—for that we must rely upon the human memory and upon the chronicles of the past to be read by the generations of the future. I have no doubt, Your Highness, that in time to come when much of which we have spoken perhaps with more uncertainty, with some doubts particularly in point of time, will have been resolved. Then, as people walk past this statue which you have erected they will say to themselves this monument of the great lover of India was erected by His Highness in order to perpetuate his memory,

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which stands here now, not in order that we should not forget him because that cannot happen ; but so that we may pause and contemplate the representation of the man as he was, that we may carry away with us some of the spirit of the ardour of the enthusiasm, of the passion, of the devotion which Mr. Montagu showed in a cause in which his whole heart was imbued.

HIS EXCELLENCE THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET AT 30th November
JAMNAGAR.

ember
1924.

At the Banquet held at Jamnagar on the 30th November, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank Your Highness most warmly for the very kind terms in which you have proposed our health. I need not assure Your Highness that it has been a very great pleasure to us both to have been able to pay you a visit in your own State. We have been charmed by the cordiality of the welcome extended to us in your capital ; Your Highness' kindness and thoughtfulness have distinguished all the arrangements made for our visit ; and nothing that could minister to our pleasure or interest has been omitted ; if Your Highness had not assured me that no Viceroy had previously paid a visit to Jamnagar, my own experiences in your capital would have led me to conclude that a long practice in the recurring reception of many Viceroys in your capital had made Your Highness an expert in the entertainment of Viceroys and their staffs.

I have explained in my speeches at Rajkot my chief reasons for visiting Kathiawar and the Western India States at this time. For these same reasons the object of my journey could not in my view have been completely secured without a visit to Your Highness' State. In the first place, as I informed the

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Princes at Rajkot, it was my desire to inaugurate in person the new system of direct relations between the Government of India and the Western India States and to announce the reasons for the change and its scope. I wished also personally to assure the States and their Rulers of my interest and sympathy and of the concern of my Government for all that affects their welfare. This mission could not have been accomplished and concluded successfully without my paying a visit to Your Highness ; for Your Highness is among the chief of those who have not only wished for the change but have worked for the change ; and I now have the opportunity of congratulating Your Highness on seeing the change actually come into operation and of expresseng my confidence that Your Highness will be foremost in assisting the officers of my Government to work the new system successfully and to meet any difficulties or dispel any apprehensions which may be felt by any of the Rulers affected by it.

Another object of my visit was to make myself acquainted, as far as time allowed, with some of the important States in the new Agency and to obtain that clear vision of their conditions and problems which only personal knowledge and touch can being. From this consideration also I included a visit to this ancient but progressive State whose position among the States and services to the Empire entitle it to stand high in the regard of my Government and whose Ruler has added lustre to the annals of his House by his personal services to his Order, to my Government and to the Empire.

On personal grounds also I have eagerly looked forward to renewing in your own home and amid your ancestral dignities my intimacy and friendship with Your Highness which has sprung from many meetings in the past in Delhi and elsewhere.

Among the many other causes for satisfaction which my visit has brought me I may also mention a small but very human

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Banquet at Jamnagar.

cause for satisfaction. By my visit to Kathiawar I have been able to emulate the achievement of a very eminent Viceroy who, before this tour of mine, had been the first and only Viceroy to visit Kathiawar ; and by my visit to Jamnagar I have actually outstripped these achievements and my feet are in a spot where that distinguished traveller never trod !

Before I touch upon some questions connected with Your Highness' State, let me say a few words regarding Your Highness personally. With becoming modesty you have avoided any detailed reference in your speech to the public work you have done outside your State. Though as the years go by, the great war recedes further and further into the past ; nevertheless the memory of your great personal efforts in the war and the services of your State, under your guidance, to the Empire is still fresh and is treasured by my Government. Nor can I forget the leading part you have taken in the formation of the Chamber of Princes and in working to make its deliberations a success. Your Order and the Government are greatly indebted to you for the constant interest you have taken in the deliberations of the Chamber and of the Committee of Princes and for all your efforts to secure the successful fulfilment of the objects for which the Chamber was constituted. On three occasions, at the invitation of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, you have represented India at the Assembly of the League of Nations and have cheerfully devoted yourself to the study of the many difficult problems of first importance which come before that body. You have taken part in deliberations of great moment both to the Empire and India ; and it is in no spirit of flattery that I say that it is largely due to the efforts of Your Highness and your colleagues on these three occasions that India occupies so honoured a place in the Councils of the Nations.

Your Highness has given a most interesting retrospect of the history of your State since you were called to rule it.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Banquet at Jamnagar.

I heartily congratulate Your Highness on the difficulties overcome, on the development and improvement achieved and on the present happy conditions prevailing. Your Highness has rightly turned your attention to the protection of land from recurring scarcity and to the increase of production. Active development in the latter direction is in my view the secret of all orderly progress. If conditions are secured in which material advance in production can take place, all classes in the State are directly benefited and the State itself profits directly and indirectly in proportion. Protection of crops from seasonal calamities by the extension of irrigation, expansion of cultivated areas, intelligent use of fuel and fodder resources, and improvement in transport facilities bring increased wealth alike to the cultivator and to the trading classes and prosperity to the State at large.

I am delighted to have seen so much of Jamnagar and its surroundings. I have been greatly impressed by the success which has attended Your Highness' town planning operations. These improvements which have provided wide well-planned streets and healthy open spaces and displayed the architectural beauties of your capital, may well stand as a model for similar operations elsewhere. I know the difficulty with which these operations are attended; and the fact that the cost of these improvements has been largely met by the sale of the new frontages must be a just cause of satisfaction both to Your Highness and to the Municipal Committee who have taken so great a part in the execution of the schemes you have initiated. I am not surprised to learn that the city is already beginning to reap advantages from Your Highness' enlightened policy, and that those diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria which are spread by insanitary conditions and congestion, are rapidly disappearing under the influence of the sunshine, fresh air and cleanliness of Your Highness' open spaces and broad streets.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Banquet at Jamnagar.

Among the many pleasurable occupations which Your Highness has arranged for me during my visit I greatly appreciate the hours in the Nawanagar jungles. I know of no more potent tonic to the mind and body and no more complete rest and change than time spent in the jungles. It is of secondary importance whether there is game or not or whether the game is big or small. The exercise, the fresh air and the communion with nature in her most untramelled moods suffice by themselves. Nevertheless when added to this there is the excitement and concentration of sport, the curative process is indeed complete.

I have heard the experiences of some of those who in the days of Your Highness' prowess at the wicket, used to stand in the field and try to prevent you from scoring runs. Old cover-points have complained to me of an uncanny skill in placing the ball and in driving and cutting with a force and curl which eluded their best efforts to stop it. I am afraid from what I hear that Your Highness has contrived to communicate some of these disagreeable properties with which you used to endow the cricket ball, to the denizens of the air at Nawanagar. At any rate they have certainly acquired the pace and the curl and many of them, as far as I have heard, get safely to the boundary without being stopped by the guns !

To-morrow, alas, will see the termination of our tour in Kathiawar. We shall depart with the greatest regret taking with us most pleasant recollections of Your Highness' kindness and hospitality and of happy days spent in Your Highness' company in your State.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking health and long life to our distinguished host His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and prosperity to his House and his State.

3rd December
1924.

H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE ADDRESS
PRESENTED BY THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF BOMBAY.

H. E. the Viceroy in replying to the Address from the Muslim Community of Bombay on the 3rd December said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the very kind words with which you have welcomed Her Excellency and myself. I am glad to have had this opportunity of meeting the Members of this deputation and of hearing your address for several reasons. In the first place I had promised to receive a Muslim deputation from this Presidency in August last but was unable to carry out my promise owing to the unavoidable cancellation of my visit to Poona ; and on wider grounds, as you, gentlemen, have correctly pointed out in your address, in view of my interest in the Muslim community in India generally, I greatly value this opportunity of meeting representatives of that important section of this community which is domiciled in the Bombay Presidency.

Let me assure you that I and my Government fully recognize the prominent position occupied by the Muslim community in India both in the past and in the present time. The capital of India, I may remind you, is now located at Delhi among the monuments which testify to the great history of the Muhammadan connection with India and of the Moghal Empire, and which inform the present generation of the notable contributions made under Muhammadan dynasties to civilization, literature and art in India and of the extent and achievements of their administrations.

If you reflect on the events of recent times you have, I consider, every reason to be satisfied with the sympathy and consideration which I and my Government have continuously devoted to the feelings and interests of your community. You have yourselves referred in your address to the constant efforts made in the past by me and my Government to keep His Majesty's Government acquainted with the feelings and aspirations of Moslems in India regarding the peace with

H. E. the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Muslim Community of Bombay.

Turkey. In the constitutional changes which the Government of India Act of 1919 introduced, every care was taken to secure adequate representation for the Moslem community and to safeguard their interests. In the Legislative Council in Bombay I understand that Muslims hold 27 out of 86 elected seats though they form less than 19% of the population of the Presidency. In the most recent legislation in the Presidency regarding local bodies, the Bombay Local Boards Act of 1923, I notice that the principle of communal representation for Mohamedans has also been adopted. As you will have observed, I have been at pains to secure the representation of Muslim opinion in my Executive Council and in other high offices of my Government; and whenever possible a Muslim representative has been selected among the delegates from India at Imperial and International Conferences. These are notable instances of the solicitude and regard of my Government for the Muslims in the past,—and you may feel confident that in the future also the same spirit of sympathy and interest will animate my Government and my own actions as regards all that concerns your important community.

You have alluded to recent events in the Hedjaz. As you are aware Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, has announced that His Majesty's Government do not intend to depart from the policy of non-interference in Moslem affairs or strict neutrality in any struggle concerning the holy places of Islam and that His Majesty's Government do not intend directly or indirectly to put themselves forward as mediators. To this declaration I have nothing to add save to say that the attitude of His Majesty's Government does not imply any lack of sympathy. The anxieties which Moslems in India feel regarding their Holy Places will always command the sympathy of the British Government and of my Government; but in adhering to an attitude of strict neutrality His Majesty's

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Government have been guided by the consideration which I feel sure appeals to all Muslims in India, that problems regarding their Holy Places can only rightly be solved by the operation of the opinion of Muslims themselves.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee to which you have referred is now completing its labours and will shortly report to my Government. The scope of its work is to enquire into the difficulties arising from or the defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and Rules thereunder and to investigate the possibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act by action taken under the Act and the Rules or by such amendments of the Act as appear necessary to rectify any administrative imperfections. In constituting the Committee I bore in mind the necessity for selecting members of your community to serve on the Committee; and in addition to Sir Muhammad Shafi, the Law Member of my Council, I appointed Mr. Jinnah who belongs to your community in this Presidency, to serve on the Committee. I have no doubt that the Committee have been fully apprised of the reasonable aspirations of the Muslim community and have borne the position of your community in mind in their deliberations. My Government have to consider the recommendations of the Committee and it would be premature for me to try and forecast the views we may eventually place before His Majesty's Government. I can however assure you that the recommendations of the Committee will be most carefully and sympathetically examined and that it is our desire to assist to the utmost in securing the success and the smooth working of the responsible institutions which have been inaugurated by the Government of India Act.

As regards the problems relating to Haj pilgrims, as Sir Narasimha Sarma has publicly announced, these questions

H. E. the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Address presented by the Muslim Community of Bombay.

are engaging the earnest attention of my Government and the feelings of Muslims as to the method of their solution are being ascertained. I feel confident that your community will assist the Officers of my Government to the best of your ability in the formulation of proposals towards the removal of the difficulties which have been experienced from time to time in the past. Chief among these difficulties is the question of destitute pilgrims.

You rightly attach importance to the progress of Muslim education in the Presidency. I know that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay takes a very deep interest in the question. I have noted with pleasure the part which leading citizens of Bombay are taking in the educational progress of Muslims in the Presidency. The Muslim public owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sir Muhammad Yusuf for his munificent gift towards the establishment of a Muslim College and to Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim's family for the endowments to establish scholarship for Muslims to study in other countries. Education is now a provincial subject ; and with the introduction of the Reforms the special grants made towards education by the Government of India have merged in the general provincial revenues : I need therefore say no more on the subject except that I and my Government watch with interest all steps directed towards the educational advance of the Muslim community. I am confident that under the guidance of His Excellency the Governor and his Ministers the progress already made in Muslim education will not only be maintained but extended.

The employment of Muslims in Government posts in the Presidency is likewise a matter lying within the province of the Government of the Presidency. You will appreciate that posts have to be filled with reference to the qualifications which they require ; and where the necessary qualifications are

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possessed by Members of different communities, I understand that selections are invariably made with the strictest impartiality and with due regard to the claims of the various communities.

My reply to your Address has been hitherto concerned only with the interests of the Muslim community and the sympathy and regard which I and my Government feel for those interests. It is right that you should take a pride in the advancement of your own community and your sentiments and anxieties for its welfare do you credit. Without prejudice to these feelings and without detracting in any degree from the solicitude I entertain for your community, let me invite your attention for a moment to other questions which affect not only your community but the whole of India. Every community has a right to work for its own improvement; but in the interests of the country as a whole it is essential that there should be in addition and at the same time inter-communal co-operation and good-will without which constitutional advancement in India cannot progress. In the present stage of development of responsible institutions, when the foundations of the larger edifice of the future are being laid, it is above all things necessary that the leading men of all sections of each community should join together in constructive work and eschewing sectional differences and casting aside all that may mar or destroy peaceful expansion should labour together in single-minded patriotism towards building up the greater good of India as a whole in which the progress and prosperity of all classes in India are equally bound up. Bearing in mind the great traditions of the Muslim community and the part they have played in the past in the history and development of India, I feel assured that they will take a no less prominent part in the future also in working to secure for a united India that great place which, I am confident, it is her destiny to fill in the British Empire,

3rd December
1924.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY AND THE OPENING OF THE SPINNING PLANT OF THE INDIAN CENTRAL COTTON COMMITTEE AT MATUNGA, BOMBAY.

In performing the above functions on 3rd December H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech :—

It gives me the greatest pleasure to take part in this inaugural ceremony to-day for several reasons. In the first place I am enabled to express my high appreciation of the value of technological and other forms of research connected with cotton with which this ceremony is primarily concerned ; and in addition there is the wider subject of the activities of the Central Indian Cotton Committee and the general question of the cotton industry in India as a whole in which I take the warmest interest and to some aspects of which I desire to draw attention.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee lost no time after their formation in carrying out the recommendations of the special Indian Cotton Committee of 1919 regarding the appointment of a technologist and the erection and equipment of a laboratory and experimental weaving installation in which accurate tests can be made and correct judgments concerning the value of varieties of cotton sent for test can be reached. The spinning test represents the main avenue to all technological research in cotton ; and the experimental spinning plant, erected here, now enables the most satisfactory method of ascertaining the value of cotton by actual spinning test to be carried out under expert control. These tests will be supplemented by other scientific processes directed towards classifying the properties of various types of Indian cottons ; and these results will be co-related with the results from spinning tests. Properties of fibre and yarn are also to be investigated. For some of these processes a laboratory will be required where physical, chemical and microscopical examinations can be conducted. A building has been designed and begun for these purposes ; but meanwhile thanks to the kindness of the Trustees of Victoria

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the Technological Research Laboratory and the opening of the Spinning Plant of the Indian Central Cotton Committee at Matunga, Bombay.

Jubilee Technical Institution, the actual laboratory tests have not had to wait upon the completion of the building and are already being carried out in the premises of the Institution. I need not emphasise the great value of this work. Its effect in assisting in the selection of the most suitable varieties of cotton for growing and in placing facts before the producers and consumers of first importance in the marketing of cottons cannot be over-estimated. I heartily congratulate all those concerned in the successful start made in technological research work here and I also felicitate the public interested in cotton on the possession of an Institution designed for scientific tests which I am confident will be of the greatest value in the history of this most important industry.

It may appear in Bombay unnecessary to dwell upon the wider aspects of the work of which the experimental spinning plant is only part, though a very important part ; for Bombay is the great cotton centre. Not only does the Presidency grow large areas of cotton, but much of the prosperity of Bombay City itself is bound up with the cotton industry and large numbers of persons are directly concerned with the purchase, marketing and export of cotton or with the spinning and manufacture of cotton cloth and yarn. The question of cotton supply has accordingly a direct reaction on the general conditions of the financial, commercial and industrial prosperity of this city ; but this lively interest is not universal outside Bombay ; and perhaps in some quarters in India men's minds are apt to dwell in some perplexity on problems of financial stringency and of needs for social, administrative and economic improvements of various kinds without realising, as keenly as I do and as many, I feel sure, in Bombay also do, that the cure for many of these difficulties and defects lies in increase and improvement of production. The effect of increased production in adding

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directly and indirectly to State revenues and in enhancing the prosperity of the producer, the manufacturer and the industrial labourers will, I am confident, show the way of escape from many of those difficulties and problems for which at present no easy solution can be found.

One of the more obvious means of improving production in India lies in concentration on the improvement of the cotton crop. India is vitally interested in cotton. Many parts of the world can produce food-stuffs ; but the favoured areas which have conditions suitable for the production of cotton lints for use for clothing and numerous other purposes are limited. India however has the priceless heritage of a climate and soil favourable for cotton production, and it would be madness to neglect or squander that fair inheritance or to fail to use every effort to improve it by wise stewardship. India consumes a large quantity of cotton goods. It has an extensive cotton export trade. It is keenly interested in the manufacture of cotton goods both through well-established and efficient spinning mills in which much capital has been invested and which give employment to large numbers of workers, and through widespread "cottage-industries" which produce large quantities of hand-woven yarn and cloth.

It must be remembered that India is not only the largest cotton-producing country in the British Empire, but is also the second largest cotton-producing country in the world. Moreover America, the largest producer, is itself now yearly absorbing to an increasing extent its own produce. For this reason, not only in the interests of India itself, but in the interests of the Empire-supply and world supply the cotton industry of India holds a most important position ; and India offers the greatest possibilities for a considerable increase in the supply of cotton in the near future.

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The possibilities of increase in India lie in various directions. There is the question of the expansion of the area under cotton, which is largely connected with the extension and improvement of irrigation and the exploitation of new areas suitable for cotton cultivation. Another aspect of the case is the possibility of securing a better average yield per acre in existing cotton areas by selection and stabilisation of the better varieties of cotton or by the introduction of new kinds. There is also the question of the prevention and cure of diseases and pests to which the crop is peculiarly liable and which cause a considerable volume of loss of each year. There is also need to study the export and mill demand more closely and to aim at improvements in the production and marketing of the desired varieties in commercial demand for the cotton trade with the mills in India or other countries. This includes the prevention of adulteration, deterioration and admixture and the stabilisation of the supply of various types in demand in various markets. As an illustration of the great scope for improvement I may note that the Cotton Committee in 1919 stated in their report that the average yield of Indian cotton was only 85 pounds of lint to the acre as compared with 200 pounds in America ; and that there was in addition defective marketing resulting in losses for Indian cotton of 10 per cent., more in the blow room as compared with American and Egyptian cottons. The Committee also found that before the War Lancashire, the best available cotton market, took little Indian cotton owing to the short supplies from India of staple cotton approximating the commercial inch standard.

The time at my disposal does not permit me to do more than indicate in the broadest manner the great importance of the field open to the labours of the Central Indian Cotton Committee, the immense potential value of the work on which they are

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engaged and the numerous problems, of which I have only enumerated a few salient points, remaining to be solved by their efforts and advice ; but if in my brief sketch I have been able to communicate even in some degree the keen interest which I feel in their work and my deep appreciation of the importance of their labours in the interests of the progress of India and the prosperity and welfare of the people of India, I shall have been amply rewarded.

The Central Indian Cotton Committee has been set up as a result of the report of the Special Cotton Committee of 1919. Broadly speaking, apart from formal activities, the Committee is a central body charged with the promotion of all measures which will tend to further the improvement of the cotton-growing industry in India. The personnel consists of a fully representative body including the Agricultural Adviser of the Government of India as President and as members the Directors of Agriculture and other experts of the Agricultural Department in the cotton-growing Provinces, the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, the Representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations, Commercial Representatives specially nominated by the Local Governments, Representatives of the Co-operative Credit Societies, of the Cotton growers and of the Indian States. The representative character of the Committee specially qualifies it to advise the Central and Provincial Governments in all matters concerning the industry and affords a common ground on which all sections of the cotton trade, the producers, the traders, the manufacturers and the agricultural and other experts of the Central and Local Governments can meet and discuss difficulties and take joint action to promote objects which are alike the concern of the Government of India, the Local Governments and the Indian States.

H. E. the Viceroy's reply to the Non-Brahmin Address in Bombay.

With the passing of the Cotton Cess Act, the Cotton Transport Act and the active consideration of a Bill for the regulation of gins and presses, the machinery for extending the operations of the Committee is in the process of being perfected. The Committee has already excellent achievements to its credit and great results are to be expected from the schemes of the Committee for the promotion of agricultural and technological research. The Committee can rely on my warm sympathy and on the support of the Member of my Council, Sir Narasimha Sarma, in their operations ; and I know that the Ministers-in-Charge of Agriculture in the cotton-growing Provinces keep in very close touch with their work. I commend the work of the Committee to the public generally because I am convinced that it is of primary importance to the welfare of India and to the prosperity of her people.

I will now proceed to perform the inaugural ceremonies.

4th December H. E. THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE NON-BRAHMIN ADDRESS
1924. IN BOMBAY.

In replying to the Address from the Non-Brahmins of Bombay on the 4th December H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting the representatives of your important community which forms so large a portion of the population of historic portions of the Bombay Presidency. I need not assure you —indeed I have made it abundantly clear in my public statements elsewhere—that I take the greatest interest in the sections of the people whom you represent, and that my thoughts as Viceroy and Governor-General are not monopolised by the more advanced and in some instances more privileged communities, but are also continuously turned towards the advancement and welfare of other perhaps less vocal but not less important and more numerous sections of the people. Apart from

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considerations of the large proportion of the total population which your communities represent, I and my Government and the Government of the Presidency are not likely to forget the services which your communities have rendered to the Empire in the great war and the important part you play in the economic development of India.

One of the greatest achievements of British rule in India may be summed up as the gradual extension and equalization of opportunities. It was natural that this result should come from a long connection with British rule, imbued as it is with the traditions of liberty and free institutions. It has been our aim to develop education to spread knowledge in India and to widen the scope for responsibility, employment and service. In all our action in India our eyes have been fixed on the day when the humblest citizen in India might aspire to share in these blessings of civilization which we in our country so abundantly enjoy ; and perhaps our greatest reward has been to see a recognition of our work and of our aims and ideals in the efforts of these communities to raise themselves to a position in which they can take advantage of these new opportunities and in their growing consciousness of their position and responsibilities as men and citizens.

In the present conditions in India it was, as you are aware, considered desirable when the reforms were introduced, to give for special reasons some protection to special communities ; and for this reason in the Bombay Legislative Council 7 seats are specially reserved from among the elective seats for Marathas and other allied castes ; but in the case of Marathas and other Hindu non-Brahmin communities, I understand, that the two communities taken together form, in most districts of the Presidency, a majority and for this reason could if they combined and were agreed on the questions particularly affecting them, successfully elect representatives specially devoted to their interests and chosen from their own communities. Your

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chances for exercising a wider influence in public affairs for these reasons lie in your own hands and are dependent upon activity, cohesion and unity among your own communities and upon the existence and efforts of persons from among your communities who can understand your interests and promote them.

For this reason I have listened with great interest to your statement of the steps the leaders of your communities have taken to improve the condition of the masses, to spread education, to secure representation of the views of your people and to take a part in public affairs and a share in new responsibilities. I heartily congratulate you upon the new spirit which animates you and the new aspirations which direct your actions. Your desire to take a larger part in public work in the Presidency and actively to support the Government in all measures for the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the people is worthy of the highest praise ; and you may count on my warm sympathy and interest in your progress in these directions.

The capacity to realize your aims must depend to a large extent on the progress of education among the youths of your communities ; and I am glad to note that this need is engaging your attention. I know that you can count on the Governor of the Presidency affording you all possible assistance within his power. I understand that the Government of Bombay has already taken special steps in regard to the education of your communities and arranged for special facilities and you may be confident that the Local Government is fully alive to your requirements and solicitous of your needs. Education is now a provincial subject ; and while I shall always view and watch with sympathy your educational progress, it is to the Governor of the Presidency and his Officers that you must look for assistance in your intellectual training and development.

The employment of members of your community in the services in the Presidency is a question which concerns the Local

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Government. I have observed that in 1923 the Government of Bombay issued a resolution regarding the clerical services with the object of securing a fair representations of all castes and communities in the public services and that in the instructions then issued special measures have been taken to provide in a liberal manner for a minimum figure of recruitment for qualified candidates from among the non-Brahmins of the Presidency and as regards employment of non-Brahmins generally in the services in the Presidency, His Excellency the Governor has recently very fully expounded the considerations by which he and his Government are guided in his reply to an Address from the non-Brahmin League at Dharwar. For these reasons it is unnecessary for me to dwell on the question save to say that it appears to me that your community have every reason to be grateful to Sir Leslie Wilson and his Government for the care and attention which has been devoted to apply the right principles in these questions of appointments and employment. The question of recruitment for Imperial Services and for the Central Services is as you are aware at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government. I will bear in mind the aspirations of your communities for representation in the appointments made to these services.

The long and honourable connection of the Marathas and other martial classes of this Presidency with the Indian Army and the forces of the Empire entitle the prayer with which you bring your Address to a close to special consideration.

Suitable youths from their ranks may legitimately aspire to careers which will continue these traditions and to share in the new opportunities now open for attaining King's Commissions. I have been in correspondence on the subject with His Excellency the Governor of the Presidency and His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. There are many martial races in India; and while Government have at times in the past been able to take steps to assist the sons of Indian Officers of the

*H. E. the Viceroy's Speech at the opening Ceremony of the Gateway of India
at Bombay.*

Army in their education, it is obviously out of the question that assistance should be granted to all young men connected with the fighting races ; and assistance of the kind is not given by the Imperial Government to youths from the British Isles studying for Sandhurst or at Sandhurst. I have pointed out to His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur that the provision of scholarships is essentially a matter in which public spirit and enterprise may be expected to co-operate and work for the betterment of the general interests of these communities and private liberality and munificence may find a scope.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your Address and your good wishes. It has been a great pleasure to have received this deputation to-day and I wish the communities, whom you represent, all success and prosperity.

4th De-
cember
1924.

**H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY
OF THE GATEWAY OF INDIA AT BOMBAY**

In performing the above Ceremony at Bombay on the 4th December, H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following address :—

It is a very great pleasure and privilege to me to perform this ceremony to-day. I congratulate Bombay most warmly on the completion of this splendid Gateway of which the Government of Bombay, the Corporation and all classes in Bombay may justly feel proud. As a memorial of the visit of Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress the Gateway has a unique interest for Bombay and it is right and fitting that a memorial of this character should stand in Bombay. Bombay of all cities in India has had the longest direct connection with the British Crown. It began this connection as the dowry of a British Queen ; and on the occasion of his last visit to Bombay in December 1911 His Majesty, after alluding with affectionate recollections to his previous visit as Prince of Wales, recalled this fact and felici-

*H. E. the Viceroy's Speech at the opening Ceremony of the Gateway of India
at Bombay.*

tously congratulated the members of the Corporation on its subsequent history in the following memorable words "As the dowry of a British Queen, Humphry Cook took it over 250 years ago, a mere fishing village. You gentlemen, and your forerunners have made it a jewel of the British Crown. I see again with joy the rich setting of its beautiful and stately buildings. I note also the less conspicuous but profitable improvements lately effected; but above all I recognise with pride your efforts to heighten what must always be the supreme lustre of such a jewel as this the peace, happiness and prosperity of all classes of its citizens". I am confident that these words are deeply treasured in Bombay.

In addition to two visits by King George and his Consort, Bombay had the privilege of giving a welcome to King Edward as Prince of Wales in 1875 and to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1921. It has also welcomed the Duke of Connaught on more than one occasion; and the people of Bombay look back with pleasureable recollection upon his residence in the Presidency for a considerable period and on his close connection with various aspects of their public life.

This Gateway will stand to recall to future generations those precious memories which I know are still fresh in the minds of many in Bombay. The architect and those directly connected with the conception and execution of the project are to be warmly congratulated on the success of their plans. Not only is the building itself in every way worthy by itself of the memories to which it is dedicated, but it adds in a striking manner to the beauties of its surroundings, fitting in, in perfect harmony, with the fine buildings around it and with the great harbour of which it is the gate.

It is not only for Bombay, however, that the Gateway has an interest, but as its name indicates for India as a whole.

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at Bombay.*

The visit of His Majesty King George and Her Majesty Queen Mary to India was an event, the importance of which to India it is impossible to overestimate. The decision of His Majesty to announce in person to the Princes and people of India his coronation was not only prompted by his expressed desire to revisit a country of which he retained most grateful recollections, for he had learned to love it and in which he had experienced here the kindness of a home, but also by the wish to renew in person those assurances which had been given by his predecessors of the maintenance of rights and privileges and of earnest concern for the welfare, peace and contentment of the people of India. This unbroken and continued direct interest of the Crown and the Royal House in India and sympathy for its people is indeed the most precious of India's possessions ; and few in India can forget the very gracious words of the latest message from His Majesty to India delivered by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales near this spot three years ago—

“ It is with the same hope and in the same spirit that my son is with you to-day..... To friends whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured, he brings this message of trust and hope. My sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabating. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. Wherever citizenship exists, it has had to meet the test ; and India like other countries has been called upon to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in the new powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped ; that with the help of those, aided by the ready guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and happiness for your future ; that all

*H. E. the Viceroy's Speech at the opening Ceremony of the Gateway of India
at Bombay.*

disquiet will vanish in well-ordered progress is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own : In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare I feel with you in a spirit of sympathy.....

.....and it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into increasing national greatness within a free Empire,—the Empire for which I labour and for which if it be the Divine Will my son will labour after me”.

In the echo of these sentiments of sympathy, trust and hope let us pause yet an instant before the completion of to-day's ceremony. Reflect with me upon other associations which this Gateway symbolical of the entrance to India from the West will always serve to recall. It is a token of the connection of Great Britain with India. It will stand to testify to the constant stream of Britain's sympathy unfortunately not always appreciated or understood in all quarters with the legitimate aims and aspirations of India to the earnestness of Britain's desire, manifested by all political parties without distinction, for the enlightenment of the masses, for the improvement in their conditions, for even-handed justice to all classes, creeds and castes for the strict maintenance of religious liberty, for the advancement of India's national greatness, for the development of her status in the Empire, and for the contentment, prosperity and happiness of the Indian people.

Let me now proceed to declare this Gateway open. May it add to the amenities of this beautiful city and recall to the people of Bombay and of India those precious memories to which it is dedicated and on which I have dwelt to-day.

10th December H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE
1924. EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Dinner given by the European Association, at Calcutta, on the 10th December:—

Mr. Carr, Ladies & Gentlemen.—I thank you for the very kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself, and for the cordial manner in which you, Mr. Carr, have proposed and this assembled company has drunk to the toast. It is a great pleasure to me to meet the members of your Association once again and to enjoy your hospitality. As I have informed you at previous meetings, I am always very glad to be in Calcutta, and I greatly look forward to my stay for a few weeks in the Capital of Bengal. Calcutta has always given me as Viceroy a warm welcome and delightful recollections to bear away with me. I find a stimulating property in the atmosphere of Calcutta which I shall not attempt to analyse too closely; one ingredient may well be the long association of Calcutta with the British connection; another is in the more extended contact I get in Calcutta with men and affairs. A breath from the ruder north—perhaps from Dundee, or it may be from Aberdeen, perhaps from the north of England and even from London—seems to pervade the soft and spice-laden air of Calcutta and to add a tonic quality to its breezes. I am especially grateful to you, Mr. Carr, for the observations you have kindly made on behalf of the Association to me as Viceroy. I greatly value the encouragement they give me in confronting and trying to solve the difficulties of my office. Your appreciation I know full well is from those who are striving for the welfare of India within the Empire and have important interests in India, who realise—as you Mr. Chairman have shown—that security of life and home and property is a primary essential of government. If I have in any measure merited your graceful expressions, it is largely because I have throughout had the inestimable benefit of wise counsel and assistance from those associated with me in the Government,

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and from the Services without exception. True to their splendid traditions the members of the Services have loyally striven their utmost for the success of the Reform policy in India. Viewing India, as I do, from all aspects—and throughout its vast area,—I have special opportunities for observation of their activities and I am filled with admiration for their capacities and their steadfast and courageous devotion to their duties. To every stage of the wonderful progress India has achieved during the last three-quarters of a century they have given of their best, and they can look back with pride on a period which bears the imprint of their handiwork and the seal of their high purpose. I believe that India in the future, even in the new circumstances now prevailing, will need in numerous directions assistance of the same character in development as that received by her from the services in the past ; and I am confident that given fair rates of emoluments and conditions of service, which the orders of His Majesty's Government on the Lee Commission now secure, the work to be done in India in the future will make a no less strong appeal to the young men of Great Britain than it has in the past. I earnestly trust that in the immediate future the young men from the Universities and elsewhere will follow in the footsteps of their predecessors and carry on in the same fine spirit their great work for India and the Empire.

I am glad to learn that this Association is making progress and that its authority and influence are increasing. You have recognised wisely that widespread organisation is nowadays necessary, and it is a satisfaction that the Association is holding its place among the important Associations of India.

I shall not pause tonight to recapitulate the services rendered by distinguished members of the European Community of your Association during my period of office in the public interests. They are well known to you and are recorded in

*H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Dinner given by the European Association,
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volumes, and they fill a large place in the tablets of my memories. I desire to express to them my very grateful thanks for the fine public spirit they have so consistently manifested.

As you may imagine my thoughts have often during the past twelve months been directed towards Bengal and Calcutta. Lord Lytton and his Government have kept me in close touch with the situation in Bengal, and I have been able to appreciate to the full the many difficulties and problems that have confronted His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in an unusual degree. Lord Lytton has explained very lucidly the situation which has arisen relating to the working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal and the Ministry, and the reasons for the action he has taken. I shall not dwell tonight on these questions, save to draw attention to certain salient features. Bengal has a Governor in Lord Lytton who has been animated throughout by a whole-hearted desire to give the fullest scope for the working of representative institutions in Bengal in the manner intended by the Imperial Parliament and affording every opportunity for the operation and development of the sense of responsibility. The response in some quarters has at times been depressing; patience has often been sorely tried; there have been on occasions profound disappointments in the degree of co-operation received and the extent to which confidence can be reposed in the growth of the true sense of responsibility. These political manifestations have not been entirely confined to Bengal; they have also happened elsewhere. Nevertheless, in accordance with the policy of His Majesty's Government, His Majesty's servants in India—I and the Government of India, Lord Lytton and the Government of Bengal and Governors and Governments elsewhere in India—will not permit ourselves to be deflected from our course. We shall not abate our efforts to develop

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self-governing institutions, but shall continue along the road prescribed with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible self-government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire. In the criticism that may be passed now or hereafter on me or my Government there shall be no place for the charge, or even a shadow of suggestion of lukewarmness on our part in the cause of Reforms. We remain whole-hearted in our endeavours in spite of checks and obstructions, and I know that Lord Lytton and his Government are of the same mind. If from one direction there have been obstacles to the smooth-working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal, from another source unfortunately a menace has appeared aiming at bringing the machinery itself to a standstill and at completely wrecking its power of motion. I need not dwell at length on the recent history of the organisations for violent and anarchical crime in Bengal, or the deplorable loss of life and property they have caused in which Indians and Europeans, officials and private individuals, were alike the victims. You have already been made familiar with the facts through the statements published by me at the time of the promulgation by me of the Bengal Ordinance and subsequently by the Governor of Bengal. His Excellency in his recent speeches has stated the case with remarkable clearness and force.

The existence of these activities is now generally admitted, and the objective of their aims is beyond controversy. They are directed towards bringing orderly government to a standstill by a series of criminal outrages upon Government officials and at terrorizing the public by a succession of violent crimes. It is indisputable that a primary function of Government in any country is to protect its officers in the execution of their lawful duties and to safeguard the lives, homes and property of its citizens; but while there is unanimity on these points, and while condemnation of these criminal activities has been out-

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spoken and almost universal, there has been criticism of the methods which I and my Government and the Government of Bengal have been forced to adopt in order to carry out one of the chief and most important of the responsibilities of Government. I shall refer tonight to some aspects only of these criticisms.

There has been much public condemnation of these organisations for violent crimes and of their deeds ; but at the same time my action in issuing the Ordinance has been condemned. Yet I have been unable to find in the public statements of those who condemned both, any concrete suggestion of utility as to how the activities of these violent organisations—admittedly directed against orderly government and the lives and property of citizens—are to be checked and punished, and what effective steps, other than the action taken by me, and for which I accept the full responsibility, could have been adopted. We cannot shut our eyes to facts. We cannot stand by and merely wail and wring our hands while law and order founder in the flood. Condemnation of violation of the code of civilization is not of itself sufficient. If civilization is to live, its code must be upheld and its sanctity must be vindicated.

It is true that the suggestion has been made that if a political panacea acceptable to a particular political party was adopted, violent crime would instantly cease. First, it may be questioned whether there is any solid ground for this suggestion ? According to my information the aims and methods of those wedded to crime and violence are essentially different from those of political parties generally in India.. I credit the latter with constructive aspirations although I may not always agree with them. According to their declarations of policy, they desire in different ways to follow methods of which humanity and civilization will not disapprove ; but the terrorists

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have never concealed an essentially different and sinister objective—the desire to destroy society and Government and to produce chaos by the desperate methods of crime, murder and anarchy. It is idle to suppose that any political remedy will stay the progress of this malignant malady. If it poceeds unchecked, it is bound in its course to involve and destroy even political parties themselves as now understood and constituted. It is difficult to conceive the effect those responsible for these criminal organisations can hope to achieve. Further, I am unable to follow the minds of those who suggest that Governments should give way to terrorism by making concessions of a drastic character notwithstanding that political agitation and argument have failed to convince the responsible authorities of their wisdom or justice. It is, I hope, unnecessary to emphasise that in no circumstances would we permit ourselves to be influenced in the faintest degree by methods of this character to a policy which had not our approval upon its merits.

My whole life and training have tended to imbue me with extreme reluctance to resort to special legislation or arming the executive authority with emergency or summary powers over and above those vested in them by the ordinary law except in the face of sheer necessity. You may be assured that I did not make use of the special powers vested in me as Governor General of issuing an Ordinance, until every other avenue for dealing with these activities—so dangerous not only to Bengal but to the whole of India—had been thoroughly explored, tried and found ineffective. Under the Constitution of India the responsibility of promulgating exceptional measures to meet exceptional dangers rests upon the Governor-General. He must not in my judgment act merely upon the request, information or advice of another Government or of a Governor, however high the value set by the Governor-General upon their opinions. He must satisfy himself by every means in his

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power of the existence of the emergency and of the necessity for use of his special powers ; but when he is convinced it is his duty to take action. The Ordinance was only issued when I was satisfied of the magnitude and urgency of the crisis and of the widespread character of the organisations, and when it was clear that all the other methods which my Government and the Government of Bengal had tried for some time past had not succeeded in checking their activities.

I have seen it suggested that the issue of the Ordinance was kept back until the Indian Legislature had been prorogued. There is no foundation for this suggestion. When the Session ended in September last the case was not complete for the issue of an Ordinance. The situation was still under examination. The greatest care was being exercised to ascertain all the facts and their significance and to discuss all possible administrative measures for the prevention of violent crime. When at the end of October I was satisfied that the Ordinary law was inadequate, and in some aspects impotent to meet the altogether exceptional crisis I promulgated the Ordinance. In case of misapprehension, let me add what must be self-evident. Once the existence of the emergency had been established, it became imperative to take action without informing malefactors of the intended step by public statement and discussion. I made clear in my published statement that my action was immediately necessary but it provided merely a temporary remedy to meet the requirements of the moment. As you have been made aware by Lord Lytton, the Bengal Legislature will shortly be summoned to consider the more permanent steps needed to control and prevent violent crime in Bengal, and that the necessary legislative measures are already under the consideration of the Government of Bengal. The representatives of the people of Bengal will accordingly have the opportunity of considering the measures required to eradicate this menace.

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from their Province. I trust that in their deliberations they will fully bear in mind the supreme necessity for the maintenance of law and order and the safeguarding of life and home and property in the Presidency, and the responsibility towards their fellowmen which lies upon them.

It has also been alleged that the Ordinance is a measure directed against the Swaraj Party and specially devised for their destruction. Those who have made this charge must be under some misapprehension ; they cannot have devoted any study to the measure and have given expression to a wholly inaccurate statement. There is not the slightest foundation for it. On the contrary, the greatest care has been directed to confine the operation of the Ordinance to the prevention of violent crime and to dealing only with individuals and organisations engaged in preparations and plans for violent criminal outrages. Peaceful citizens and those who hold aloof from such connections have nothing to apprehend from the measure. They may pursue their avocations without fear. Political parties cannot in any way fall within its scope, if—as I assume they refrain from association with criminal conspiracy with the object of terrorism. I am confident that any political party in India, which has the welfare of India at heart and knows the facts as I know them, and as they are generally known to those who have studied them, will disclaim any common ground of sympathy or any common ground of activity with the terrorist movement.

Here I must leave the subject which has already formed the theme of several notable speeches by Lord Lytton who has dealt with all its phases and with complete understanding of the situation. From the position I occupy as Governor-General I am bound to survey the ground with wider horizon than that of Bengal, highly important as the Presidency is.

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The reactions upon India generally have been throughout present to my mind. No relevant factor has to my knowledge been left out of consideration. My conclusions have been formed neither in haste nor with narrow vision ; I became convinced that action was imperatively required and I trust that it will prevail over the forces of violent crime and terrorism. I know that my Government and the Government of Bengal can count in the fullest degree on the European community for support in this and in all measures directed to preserve the stability of Government and the tranquillity of the country. Your Association has in the clearest terms expressed its views, and I am grateful for its support.

Mr. Carr, I fear that I have devoted much time to this subject to the exclusion of others mentioned by you. You and this audience will, I am certain, forgive me especially as this is the first time I have referred to my action since I issued the explanatory statement with the ordinance. If therefore, I resist all the allurements you have seductively spread before me of discussing methods of taxation and its distribution and the relative advantages of State and Company management of Railways—to mention only the most attractive of the many wares—it is not because I do not attach weight to your observations upon these matters but solely because time will not permit. I beg you to rest assured that they will receive my careful consideration with the assistance of my advisers. You have however, made references to certain aspects of the working of the Reforms generally in India, and I attach too great an importance to them to pass them by tonight. I have also read with interest a letter under your signature to the late Secretary of State and published in April last by Your Association. I was glad to observe that your Association welcomed any examination and alteration under the Rules of the Government of India Act which

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would tend to make the present stage of Reformed Government more acceptable to constitutional Indian opinion. You also stated the laudable determination of your Association to co-operate to the fullest extent in working the Reformed Constitution as established by the law. But at the same time you expressed certain apprehensions as to the future, and you criticised the lack of co-operation already received. You had largely in mind the Reforms Enquiry. The exact scope of this enquiry was made clear in the last Delhi Session of the Assembly by the Home Member of my Executive Council and had been defined in precise terms in a Resolution published by my Government. That Committee has now completed its labours and its report will come immediately under the consideration of my Government. I must not attempt to forecast the recommendations which we may make to His Majesty's Government. Let me however draw attention to an important aspect of the situation and which should always be borne in mind. His Majesty's Government in 1919 laid down and announced a policy as regards India which had been agreed to by all political parties in England. There has been no change in that policy. Perhaps the best testimony is that during the period of my office of over three and a half years I have acted with five different Governments of His Majesty—with Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and again Mr. Baldwin respectively—and the fundamental policy of the Reforms in India has throughout remained unaltered. My Government and the Provincial Governments are entrusted with the responsibility of carrying that policy into execution. If anything operates to interfere with its processes or obstructs its working smoothly, my Government would deem it right to enquire into the matter. It was with this end in view and with the approval of His Majesty's Government as then constituted, that we took action

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and appointed a Committee. It was not our purpose to propose a new policy to His Majesty's Government, but to indicate with reference to the working of the Reforms any remedies required consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act. Steps travelling further belong to a different category. The time and manner of taking any such steps are matters which can only be determined by the British Parliament. The factors which will guide Parliament have been stated in the preamble of the Act, and they include the consideration of those very points, on which your Association in the letter I have mentioned appear to be under some apprehension. You may therefore rest assured that when the time comes they will be very fully examined.

It is profoundly to be regretted that many Indian politicians and leaders of thought seem to attach little or no importance to the necessity of affording testimony to Britain of that co-operation and good-will alluded to by you and the absence of which you deplore. I lament the fact but unfortunately I cannot altogether refute your observations. It is difficult to understand the purpose of those who seek the advancement of India and yet seem too often to revel in attacking the British people and imputing evil motives to them in relation to India. I am well aware that these utterances do not truly represent Indian opinion, for my experience in India has taught me that there is a wealth of real loyalty and trust in the British Government which animates vast numbers of the people of India. But yet by the reiteration of these utterances, attention is attracted to them out of proportion to their just value; they make an unhappy impression and are frequently followed by what I conceive to be unwise action. They tend to check and counteract the efforts of all those thinking men in India and Britain whose purpose is to help India to greater destinies and to

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her ultimate goal. For years it has been the aim of the British Government to spread education, to widen the bounds of understanding and self-respect, to improve the material condition of the people of India, to enlarge capacity and to foster the sense of responsibility and pride in stable government. It has been the hope of the British people that by stages India might advance to the realisation of responsible self-government within the Empire. Nor if I have read India's aspirations aright, has she any other aim. It is earnestly to be hoped that better counsels may yet prevail and that there may be greater unity of effort in India to bring the Indian and British peoples into closer and more harmonious relations, to the end that India may reap the advantage of Britain's sympathetic efforts for India's welfare and happiness; and that Britain and India may march forward hand in hand to the consummation of their ideal of a prosperous and contented India with responsible self-government, taking her stand proudly and determinedly among the great commonwealth of nations called the British Empire.

*H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT
TO THE JHERIA COALFIELD IN BENGAL.*12th December
1924.

At the Luncheon given in honour of his visit to the Jheria Coalfields on the 12th December, H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech : —

Sir Willoughby Carey and Gentlemen : I thank you very warmly for the kind welcome you have extended to me and the cordial manner in which my health has been proposed and drunk. I am very glad to have had the opportunity of paying this visit to the coalfields and I thank Sir Willoughby Carey for the part he has taken in making the arrangements for it.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of his visit to the Jharia coalfield in Bengal.

I had long desired to pay this visit for more than one reason. I wanted in the first place to show my keen interest in what certainly appears to me to be and what in my view must always be one of the most important Industries in India and to meet those who have devoted capital, labour, thought and energy to its development and those who are directly concerned in working the mines. I have often met elsewhere Directors of firms interested in the coal mining industry in India and have had opportunities of discussing the problems connected with the industry with them; but my knowledge would have remained incomplete unless I had been able to gain some more intimate acquaintance of the conditions under which the industry is prosecuted and of the work on the spot of those who are directly dealing with those conditions and grappling with these problems which I have only hitherto studied in reports and documents and discussed far from the coalfields with the pioneers of the industry. My interest in the industry and my conviction of its importance in the development of India has always inclined me to devote particular attention to all questions connected with coal in India whether they related to supply, transport, commercial markets or mining regulations; but I am confident that a result of the visit I have paid to-day and the interesting information supplemented by ocular demonstrations I have been engaged in absorbing, these questions will have for me in future an even more vivid meaning and more live importance.

The coal industry in India is comparatively speaking of recent growth and is still in the formative stages of its adolescence. It is true that the first information regarding coal in India reached the world outside India as long ago as in the Mogul times when travellers brought to Europe tales of a few headloads of coal coming in country boats from far

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on the occasion of his visit to the Jharia coalfield in Bengal.

away in the interior down the Narbadda to the west coast but many years were to elapse before any extensive advantage was taken of geological factor and Sir Willoughby Carey has brought a vivid picture to our minds of the primitive conditions under which the industry existed even here, in its metropolis, within the memory of the present generation. It is greatly to the credit therefore of all those who have been connected with the development of the Indian coalfields that the industry in so short a time has been so well established and takes its place in competition with this very highly organised branch of industry in other countries.

Not least among the interests of my visit to-day has been the information acquired regarding the conditions under which the labour in the mines work and the steps that have been taken to provide for their care and welfare and for comfortable and sanitary housing. I appreciate that the expenditure and organisation which schemes of this nature entail is considerable, but I believe they pay in the long run in the increased efficiency and contentment of the working classes and in securing a permanent connection of skilled labour with the industry.

I am obliged to Sir Willoughby Carey for putting so frankly before me some of the difficulties felt in connection with the industry. Some of them, as he has observed, await the decision on the recommendations which committees appointed by my Government may make to us; and partly for this reason and partly because I wish to digest and assimilate all I have seen and heard to-day before coming to conclusions, I do not propose at the moment to discuss these difficulties save to say that I shall bear in mind, when the time comes to deal with them, that they were put before me by men who had great experience of the industry and who had devoted

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their time, money and best activities to its welfare and development; and bearing this in mind your observations, Sir Willoughby, will naturally have great weight with me.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for making my visit to the coalfields so full of interest. I wish the industry and those connected with it all prosperity.

15th December 1924.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AT CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, on the 15th December 1924.

Mr. Currie and Gentlemen: I thank you very warmly for the kind welcome you have extended to me and I greatly value your appreciation of the difficulties which confront me in my task of carrying out my responsibilities as Viceroy and Governor-General and your expressions of sympathy, loyalty and support.

It is a source of satisfaction to me that I have been able to provide by nomination for the representation of the Associated Chambers in the Legislative Assembly. I place high value on the advice and assistance of the commercial community; and it is gratifying to me that this community is now represented in both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. Your representatives have devoted much time and attention to the administrative problems confronting my Government and I cannot speak too highly of the help they have invariably given to me and my Government in many questions of great difficulty and importance.

It is a great pleasure to me—as I know it is also to Lord Lytton—to be present at your annual meeting to-day. I

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know that the Members of my Government also greatly appreciate the opportunities given by this annual gathering of meeting the representatives of the various Chambers and discussing with them those interests which are alike of such importance to the Members of the Chambers and to the commercial prosperity of India.

Two years have passed since I had last the pleasure of meeting the Members of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and of addressing you at your annual meeting. Last year in December when your annual meeting was being held in Bombay I was touring in Southern India. Nevertheless I was not entirely shut off from questions of concern to you, as one of your Member Chambers—the Madras Chamber of Commerce—presented me with an address on commercial subjects to which I had the pleasure of replying; a little later I concluded that tour with a visit to Burma and I gained some first-hand experience of its great wealth of natural products and resources; I also had the opportunity of seeing Rangoon which has grown up and developed within the memory of the present generation, in a marvellously short space of time, to rank among the important ports and commercial centres of the Empire.

When I last addressed you, I made some observations regarding the economic situation and trade prospects. You no doubt felt at the time that my remarks were, generally speaking, not of a very cheering nature and were only occasionally enlivened by a very strictly guarded vein of optimism. The shadow of the upheaval of the great war was then still lying over India. Trade was dull and the future appeared uncertain. Nevertheless I discussed at the time some satisfactory features in the situation which emboldened me to entertain hopes for the future; and I was able to perceive

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some rays of light from the coming dawn beginning to illuminate the general darkness and obscurity of the outlook.

I am glad that these anticipations have been more than realized. Since then there has been steady progress towards a return to normal conditions. The steady revival of trade has been a source of great gratification to me. In the first six months of 1922 India's imports were 111 crores and her exports 142 crores making a total of 253 crores. The figures for the corresponding period in the present year are 123, 169 and 292 respectively. The total seaborne trade of India is greater for the first six months of the present year by 18 crores than it was for the same period last year and exceeds the figure for this period in 1922 by 39 crores. This is eminently satisfactory.

Turning to internal trade, I find the same signs of prosperity. The increase of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores in our gross railway receipts, as compared with last year, indicates a general revival of activity and prosperity. The general improvement is reflected in the fact that my Government were able to present a balanced budget last year. It is too early to forecast the coming budget; but without undue optimism I may observe that crop prospects at the moment are generally good and that the omens are favourable.

As I am speaking in Calcutta, let me dwell for a moment upon the industries of special interest to Calcutta. Though jute mills are still working short time, I understand the industry is passing through a period of quite exceptional prosperity. Tea has made a dramatic recovery. In 1920 the tea trade touched the depths of a period of deep depression. It has however risen again to the surface and is now basking in the sunshine of abundant prosperity. I cannot too highly commend the grit and courage of those connected with the industry who have brought it through the bad times to the

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good. Coal is not for the moment unfortunately in as flourishing a condition. The difficulty is no longer one of inadequate transport facilities, but is connected with a slackness of demand for the supply. It is hoped that the Coal Committee, which is now investigating this question among others, will be able to suggest a method by which the export coal markets may be recovered. During my stay in Calcutta on this occasion I am glad to say that I have been able to pay a visit to the coalfields; and I was greatly interested in all I saw and impressed with the progress in organization and development achieved. I am now in a better position to visualise the problems connected with an industry, which will always command my attention and sympathy.

On the subject of exchange and currency I know you will not expect me to say much. There are hopeful signs in Europe to-day of economic convalescence and the time seems at last to be drawing near when the more stable currencies of the world will once again bear a fixed relation to gold, and when India too may hope to see an end of the period of wide fluctuations in exchange. But that time has not yet arrived, and until we can say with confidence that the time for action has come, it is, I think, desirable that India's currency policy should remain a policy of watchfulness, and that no final commitments should be entered into. I am watching the movements of the money markets and exchanges of the world closely in order that the right moment may not be missed by India. Meanwhile, in India itself I am endeavouring so to manage our currency situation during the period of transition with the able assistance of my Finance Member that we may avoid on the one hand all risks of relapse in the direction of inflation, and on the other hand meet all reasonable demands for currency during the busy season. I have reason to feel hopeful that we may be able to win through the winter

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and spring of 1924-25 under conditions of somewhat less acute stringency in the money market than prevailed a year ago. Apart from the special provisions for the issue of emergency currency which were provided by the Paper Currency Act of 1923, the Government of India are ready to use to the full their powers to issue additional currency against sterling securities purchased for the Paper Currency Reserve so long as exchange shows reasonable strength. We have already issued 3 crores of additional currency under these powers during the past two months. Further, the Government intend to propose legislation next session in Delhi to extend these powers in order that there may be no doubt of their ability to meet all legitimate demands should the season be a specially busy one and the demand for circulating media particularly active. I am happy to see in the increased confidence which is manifesting itself in business and commercial circles a proof that they appreciate the action which the Government have taken and are taking in this difficult sphere.

Your Chambers naturally take a direct interest in fiscal questions. The most important measure of this kind which has been passed since I last addressed you is the Steel Industry (Protection) Act. The Act was based on the very careful and able investigations into the conditions of the Industry conducted by the Tariff Board. Its effect was to impose heavy protective duties; but the protection which the Act was destined to afford, has subsequently proved ineffective mainly owing to the rapid and marked fall in the prices of continental steel. The Tariff Board in consequence have made further investigations; and as you are aware, my Government has now accepted their finding that a further measure of protection is required. My Government has published a resolution setting forth its conclusion and proposals. The latter take the form of bounties, in lieu of additional duties, and

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will be placed before the Legislative Assembly next month. I earnestly hope that the liberal measure of assistance we propose will ensure the prosperous progress of the steel industry in future.

As regards protection generally let me remove any doubts which may exist as regards the position. My Government steadfastly adhere to the policy we adopted and announced when we accepted the main recommendation of the Fiscal Commission Report. There is no question of a wholesale adoption of indiscriminate protection. Every industry that demands protection is required to prove its case in public before an impartial board. So far the results of this policy have been gratifying. The applications for protection have not been unduly numerous ; and there are signs that the careful and reasoned examination of each case by the Board is having a real educative effect. Protection is no longer loosely regarded in India as an abstract proposition easy of application to every case and as a panacea for all kinds of economic difficulties ; and the thinking public in India have begun to look at it in the right light, to treat it as a strictly practical question and to realise that its application in any case can only be justified by the strict merits of the case itself.

Another important change of interest to your Chambers relates to the separation of Railway Finance. I have little to add to the observations I made on the subject to the Railway Conference at Simla. I believe the decision arrived at represented a fair solution and I am confident that it will result in benefit both to the railways and those who use them. It is not easy to hold the balance evenly between the claims of the general taxpayer and railway interests ; but there is no doubt that under the previous system, where railway earnings went into the general exchequer and money for railways was voted each year, the railways were crippled in development

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and there was little incentive for initiative, improvement or economy in working. It was clear that communications were unduly taxed to swell receipts from general revenues. I am satisfied that under the new system sufficient control is maintained and the state will continue to receive a fair and stable return on the money invested in railways while at the same time the railways have a real incentive to work on economic, efficient and commercial lines.

A perusal of your agenda tempts me to wander off into many interesting subjects but time will not permit of these digressions ; and I shall content myself with a brief reference to one or two points on which I may be able to add to the information available upon some of the topics before discussion takes place.

My Government regards the Vizagapatam harbour scheme as a scheme of first importance. At present there is no harbour for ocean going steamers on the 900 miles of the east coast of India which separates Calcutta from Madras. There has been delay in completing the examination of the scheme because it was inextricably bound up with the question of a new line of railway from Raipur to Vizianagram. The port could be of little use unless the railway was built and the railway would not pay its way without the port. The examination of these connected problems has however now been completed ; and proposals have been formulated which will shortly be referred to the Secretary of State.

Two items on the agenda refer to legislation regarding Trades Union, and trades disputes. As regards the former bill the position is that after consultation with local Governments, my Government have reached provisional conclusions which have been embodied in a bill. The bill has been published and circulated with an explanatory letter and it is

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intended to introduce it, with such modifications as may appear desirable in the light of criticism received, in the ensuing Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly. The Bill provides for taking simple steps to recognize the right of association among workers and to give associations of this character a definite legal status. The bill may be considered in some quarters as premature ; but there is obviously something to be said for taking preliminary measures at the outset to deal with the trades union movement in India on sound lines. The movement can hardly fail to assume importance in the future. Your Associated Chambers were in favour of Government taking up the question of preventing trade disputes simultaneously with any legislation relating to Trades Unions. The provisional conclusions of my Government as regards trade disputes have also been embodied in a bill which has been published and circulated with an explanatory letter to invite criticism. From the opinions received up to now it appears that the provisions of the Trades Union bill have received a considerable measure of approval but some criticisms have been directed against several of the clauses of the trades disputes bill, particularly those relating to strikes in the utility services. Let me make it clear that the views of my Government as expressed in these bills are tentative only and my Government will welcome criticisms and suggestions for improvement and are prepared to make such changes in these bills as may appear desirable in the light of the comments received.

As regards Stores purchase let me assure you that my Government have not dismissed from consideration the resolutions which the Associated Chambers and the Legislative Assembly passed on the subject but are carefully examining at the present moment the changes in the directions advocate

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by the resolutions which they would be justified in commanding to the Secretary of State. You are aware that it is particularly necessary in this case to be sure of the ground before changes can be proposed. Since these resolutions were passed, the new Stores Purchase Rules have been promulgated. You will have observed that these Rules to some extent liberalise the system of stores purchase more particularly by enabling the purchase of plant and machinery from branches and technical agents in India of approved manufacturing firms elsewhere. In the matter of policy this is a step in the direction to which the resolutions pointed.

I have been somewhat disappointed as regards the delay in the revision of the Insurance Law in India. The draft bill, which was intended to regulate all forms of insurance in India has been ready for some time ; but my Government after its preparation received information that the Board of Trade has appointed an expert committee in England to consider the English Assurance Act on which our law in India is based and to report what alterations are required to bring it into accord with modern requirements. It is obvious that my Government must await the results of the expert examinations now being conducted in England before proceeding with our own bill. If in this direction I must be content to mark time, I am glad to be able to inform you that the Civil Justice Committee, which was appointed in February last as a result of certain observations made by me at your annual meeting two years ago, have completed their enquiry ; and Mr. Justice Ranken hopes to be able to present their report, which will deal in particular with the machinery for commercial suits, before the end of the year. I cannot too highly commend the care and expedition which have marked the labours of this Committee.

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I know that your Chambers consider the question of ports and shipping to be of first importance. You will have observed that my Government has recently held a conference on the subject. There has been some misconception as to the scope of that conference. Let me make it clear that the conference was only a preliminary conference regarding this very difficult and important subject. My Government is engaged on overhauling the merchant shipping law in India, much of which dates from a period anterior to 1887 and is in some respects, as you are aware, out of date and sadly in need of amendment. There is in addition the question of the connection of the Central Government with the direct administration of Navigation, Ports Shipping and Port Trusts and the method by which these matters can be controlled and administered. Future development and improvement must largely depend for its success on the establishment of a clear and well defined system of administration and recognition of spheres of responsibility. Before constructive changes could be devised it was necessary to explore these difficult subjects to clear up misunderstandings and to arrive at some provisional conclusions in discussion with provincial representatives. By this means alone could the useful work of revision of our Shipping laws proceed. The result of the preliminary conference, I am glad to say, has been satisfactory and several misconceptions have been removed and a clearer vision of the main principles involved has been obtained. My Government is now in a position to be able to begin to formulate concrete proposals. I need scarcely add that when proposals have been formulated, the local Governments and commercial communities will be given the fullest opportunity for examination, criticism and suggestion.

You have alluded to Mr. Chatterjee's impending departure and I am sure he greatly appreciates your kind reference to

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him and your good wishes for his success in the new office of which he is to assume charge next month. Though I suffer the loss of his valuable services as a colleague and adviser on my Executive Council, the offer of the post of High Commissioner was made to him because of the great importance of the post to the interests of India. It is desirable at present that this post should be held by an officer who has first-hand knowledge and long experience of commercial and industrial conditions in India and of labour questions and who is in touch and sympathy with Indian sentiment. These qualities Mr. Chatterjee, first as a Secretary in the Commerce and Industry Department of my Government and later as the Member of my Executive Council in charge of the portfolio of Industry and Labour has shown that he possesses in an exceptional degree ; and I feel sure that in his hands in London India's interests will be served with the greatest care, fidelity and ability and that India's reputation at the capital of the Empire will be worthily maintained.

I do not propose to dwell on the political situation in India to-day as I have already spoken on the subject at length since my arrival in Calcutta a week ago. To what I have said, I need only add that I am confident that in the main object the Government have in view, they have the firm support of the commercial communities in India. Commerce best thrives under conditions where there is external and internal peace, where there is respect for law and order, where the Government receives support from its citizens in the discharge of its primary duties and functions, where there is steady moral and material progress among the people, where the nation grows in unity and self-respect and where in consequence the good name of a country stands high in the estimation of its neighbours. Anything that may occur to give a set back to the establishment and maintenance of these conditions

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threatens the very life of commerce and destroys the delicate fabric of credit and trust with which all commerce is interwoven.

I have spoken to-day of a trade revival. I have dwelt on the hopes for a period of commercial activity to which the commercial communities, the Government and the country alike eagerly look forward.

I earnestly trust that no cloud of unrest may arise to obscure that horizon towards which we have turned our eyes and that all classes in the country will unite to strive for peaceful and constitutional progress in India and for the development of those great natural resources with which India among the countries of the Empire has been so abundantly endowed.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE RONALDSHAY MEMORIAL AT CALCUTTA.

19th December
1924.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech when he performed the unveiling ceremony of the Ronaldshay Memorial at Calcutta on the 19th December :—

It is a great pleasure to me to take part to-day in this ceremony which is to give to Calcutta a memorial to Lord Ronaldshay. I know that this memorial represents a tribute from Bengal of real esteem and deep affection to Lord Ronaldshay, both as a man and a Governor.

Lord Ronaldshay's Governorship is memorable in many respects. He came to India imbued with a deep interest and love for India. He had already visited India in a private capacity on five occasions before he came to this Presidency

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as Governor; and to those who have followed his public utterances since his return to England it is apparent what a warm place India, Bengal and Calcutta still have in his heart and how constantly his thoughts dwell upon our affairs. In one of his parting speeches, at the Calcutta Club, he has described his close ties with Bengal and Calcutta in a metaphor which I think truly represents the strength of that attachment—"Like the Banyan tree" he said "I have thrown out branches which have taken firm root in your soil".

Lord Ronaldshay assumed the charge of his high office at a time of peculiar difficulties and also of unusual interest. In March 1917 the Great War was at its height. In all parts of the Empire every effort was being made and resources were being strained to their utmost to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion—but the end was not then in sight. In Bengal itself, at the time of his arrival, serious outbreaks of anarchical crime had aroused the acutest anxiety. The horizon was obscured by financial difficulties, almost continuously present during his Governorship, cramping and warping the beneficent activities of his Government in many directions. A less courageous man might indeed have been deterred by the conditions prevailing at the time when he was called upon to undertake his stewardship.

The years that followed were to see memorable events. The declaration of August 1917 foreshadowed the momentous change in the constitution of British India. Lord Ronaldshay took a prominent part in the deliberations which followed in India and culminated in the passing in Parliament of the Government of India Act giving to the people of India a new Charter of rights and responsibilities. On the 1st of February 1921 he saw His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught inaugurate the new Legislative Council in Bengal and for a year after he continued to preside over the destinies of Bengal

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as Governor in the new constitution. It fell to his lot to deal with the serious political agitation following upon the introduction of the reforms and the misguided demonstrations on the occasion of the Royal visit. He had the task of bringing to its successful conclusion Bengal and Calcutta's effort for the Empire in the War and it was his privilege to be present when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales unveiled outside the gate of Government House, Calcutta's tribute to those who had made the supreme sacrifice in that struggle. He had experience also of the difficulties of the aftermath of War. He witnessed and fostered the remarkable industrial awakening in Bengal towards the close of the War and he subsequently faced in Bengal with courage and resource those world problems of economic dislocation which followed hard on the heels of the end of the War.

In the midst of these great events and these great responsibilities and anxieties he found time for a vast volume of administrative work which he carried out with marked efficiency. Time will not permit me to dwell on his achievements in the field of Local Self-Government and public health, in his efforts to extend irrigation and improve agriculture and strengthen the rural co-operative movements or on his distinguished connection with the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. I may confidently leave those who have been associated with him in these labours to testify to his achievements in these and other directions and to the great improvements and developments he was able to effect.

Bringing sympathy and sound common sense to his task, readily accessible, frank in expression of his views and with a precision of mind which enabled him to grasp problems quickly and take rapid decisions, Lord Ronaldshay early won the confidence of all classes in Bengal. Giving himself

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of his best, he was sure of the devotion to duty of his officials and was able to call forth and use the best qualities in others. He yielded to none in his admiration for the intellectual ability, the courtesy and the warmhearted generosity of the people of Bengal. He also confidently sought and secured the disinterested advice and assistance of the non-official representatives of his own community. As he has often said he had strong confidence in the sound combination of qualities forming the resources of the Presidency—the inspired idealism of the people of Bengal on the one hand and the sound business acumen of the commercial community on the other. In spite of disappointments and obstacles he remained to the end a firm optimist in the strength of that combination if the will to succeed were present in all classes ; and this optimism inspired all his actions.

I cannot explain his mental attitude more clearly than by quoting the words in which he set forth his ideals in his speech at the inauguration of the Reformed Bengal Council.

" It is given to every man to contribute something towards this, the supreme necessity of the day—the creation of a will to co-operate—a will to succeed ; and for myself I joyfully dedicate the remainder of my term of service in Bengal to the furtherance of a steadily growing partnership between the Bengalee and the British races ; and I offer the hand of help and friendship to all who inspired by a common purpose—the orderly progress of this land towards its appointed destiny—are prepared to work wholeheartedly for the effacement of all obstacles standing in the way of cordial co-operation in the supreme interest of the common weal ."

I trust I have been able to express in a measure the foundation on which the esteem and affection of the people of Bengal for Lord Ronaldshay rest and the source of those honourable

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feelings which have prompted the citizens of Bengal to give this memorial of him to their Capital and to the Second City in the Empire.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ROTARY CLUB, CALCUTTA.

30th December 1924.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on the 30th December 1924 :—

I thank you and this assembled company of Rotarians for your warm welcome. It is a great pleasure to me once again to meet members of the Rotary Club, to associate with those who are pursuing its high ideals and who, by membership, pledge themselves to service above self. As you, Sir George, have indicated, I am not a stranger to Rotary. I first made its acquaintance in its original home in the United States ; and it is a great interest to me to find that its seed has been borne by the wind so far afield as Calcutta and has taken root in the soil here.

Yes, Sir George, have paid me a great compliment, for you have referred to me as imbued with the true Rotarian spirit. I hope I merit the tribute ; certainly it is much esteemed by me. It is, however, for others to appraise your observations at their just value. I cannot be impartial in this respect for, although I may be severely critical of myself in some directions, there is a danger that I may judge of other actions with too great leniency.

We have all listened with attention to your brief but comprehensive statement of the principles of Rotary and the duties of Rotarians. It brought the lofty aims of this Club forcibly home to us. You have made it plain that Rotary, if properly understood and practised, is entirely non-political ; but it is significant that the basic idea of Rotary Association had its

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birth in a country where representative institutions flourish. For just as representative institutions cannot progress unless the representatives of the people think of the people and for the people, so for the existence of community service which Rotary has as its aim, it is essential that each member should not think first of himself but of other people and for other people. Rotary strives to improve each member by elimination from his mind of the purely selfish, material and personal view point and by implanting in it an understanding of what others around him are doing and what they need and want. In this way his outlook towards his own occupation and acts becomes broader and his horizon begins to extend towards ideals of service, through his work, to the community at large. As Rotary Clubs grow up and membership extends, the result can only be to place commercial and civic life on a higher and more efficient plane and to leaven the general body of the people with nobler ideals of citizenship and neighbourly relations. It is for this reason that it is particularly appropriate that Rotary should have started its career in India at a time when a step in advance towards responsible institutions has been taken and when any growth in ideals of citizenship or in strengthening the social structure are of special importance.

There is as I conceive it a wide field in India for the Rotary movement. It has its habitation at present in Calcutta, but its principles would with advantage be distributed over a far more extended territory. An influence of the nature you have described which exists for the promotion of understanding and sympathy and unity can achieve great results. Whatever the causes—which I shall not here attempt to analyse—it cannot be doubted that they have combined to make the character of the social structure in India peculiarly complex. Too great a gulf separates the poor from the rich. There is too vast a distance between the heights of knowledge and the abysses of ignorance. The tendency at times is for different religions

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to clash. Even amongst sections of the people professing the same religion, there are sects and castes and sharp dividing lines. Many in turn are severed from their fellow-men by traditional and hereditary occupations. In addition, unfortunately, there are also sharp racial antagonisms. From these causes estrangements spring up ; there is too often in India, as in other countries, a lack of understanding and a want of sympathy between man and man and class and class, and thus men become disposed to concentrate too narrowly on their own occupation and interests. It seems to follow inevitably that the outlook upon life is restricted and that personal interest and material success will thus become the limited horizon of ambition. Such a condition of mind in the individual must militate against his getting best out of himself or even out of his business, and it warps the proper discharge by him of obligations to his city or his country.

To such conditions Rotary comes a healing balm. Men of different classes meet. They exchange views and experiences. They learn of one another's work and ideals. They share each other's hopes and fears. They begin to understand each other's difficulties. They are introduced to new problems and new questions. They appreciate wants and needs not formerly realised and aspirations and aims in which they have previously had no share. Sensibly or insensibly ideas of new duties and obligations are created and actions become order to serve a wider purpose and a higher aim. Service to the community becomes the watchword and the outlook of each individual is steeped in the golden light of a wider humanity.

For these reasons I congratulate the Members on the formation of this Club and wish them all success. I hope that others will emulate their example and that other Clubs will grow up in Calcutta and elsewhere in India and so lead to the wider diffusion of those high aims and aspirations which are comprised in the inspiring ideal of Service above Self.

31st De-
cember
1924.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MOSLEM DEPUTATION AT CALCUTTA.

In replying to the Address from the Moslem Deputation at Calcutta on the 31st December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen.—I thank you for your address and your good wishes. The great responsibilities laid upon me as Governor-General for the government of India and the welfare of her people make it incumbent upon me to keep in close touch with the feelings and aspirations of all communities in India ; and when I visit the Presidencies and Provinces I am always glad to meet the leading members of various communities and hear their views. I have, as you have no doubt observed, recently come from Bombay where I received addresses from various communities including an address from the Muhammedans of the Western Presidency. In the present case the community, which you represent, holds a prominent position in Bengal and occupies an important place in the annals of the Presidency. It is therefore all the more desirable that I should be in possession of their views and understand their hopes and aspirations. For these reasons I appreciate the opportunity I have had of meeting you to-day and have listened with interest to the frank expression of the sentiments and aims entertained by your community.

I have never omitted to take into account that while the interests of Indian Muslims are primarily and vitally bound up in the progress, prosperity and welfare of India as a whole and of Indian provinces and States, yet on religious grounds their sentiments may be genuinely affected by events in Muslim countries outside India, for example, questions relating to their Holy Places. It was for this reason that I kept in close touch with the reasonable aspirations of Indian Muslims upon the question of the conditions of peace with Turkey and took every opportunity of acquainting His Majesty's Government with the feelings of Muhammedans in India upon the question.

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I thank you for your generous appreciation of my efforts in this behalf and I share in your gratification that these difficult negotiations were brought by His Majesty's Government to a solution alike pleasing to Muslim sentiment in India and in accordance with those relations of friendship with Turkey and Islam which had so long been a traditional feature of the policy of Great Britain.

You have referred in your address to a question particularly affecting your community in Bengal and have urged that in dealing with the report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee my Government should take steps to secure for your community a representation in the Bengal Legislative Council proportionate to the ratio of the Muslim population to the total population of the Presidency.

As regards the general aspect of the case perfection cannot of course be claimed for the present electoral structure ; but let me remind you that it was devised to suit the needs of the various provinces after very careful examination and consideration of their requirements in the light of the state then existing of political and educational development of the people of India. I have explained on several occasions in replying to addresses from the Muslim community that the greatest care was taken at the time to protect the interests of this important community and that similar solicitude for legitimate claims will mark any reconstruction of the electoral edifice.

The report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee is now in the hands of my Government ; this important document is being carefully examined by my Government. It is not possible for me to attempt to foretell what views my Government may adopt on the recommendations made, because the report has not yet been considered. You will recollect that the terms of reference to the Committee precisely defined the scope of its activities. The primary duty of the Committee was to enquire

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into difficulties arising from or defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the rules thereunder in regard to the Central Government and the Governments of the Governors' provinces. These instructions did not exclude investigations into any defects found to exist in the working of the electoral system ; and these matters, with other questions, will come before my Government for consideration when the report of the Committee is finally examined.

I note and you have no doubt observed from the press reports that in the evidence given before the Committee many witnesses referred to questions of communal representation in the Provincial Councils, and while the system was criticised on general and special grounds by many of the witnesses, others were equally emphatic in their condemnation of any attempt to tamper with arrangements for communal representation now existing in the electoral system. It is apparent from the statements that while constitutional, theoretical and practical objections to the system do exist in some quarters, there is also at the moment deep-rooted prejudice in other quarters to a change in the system and you will have observed that according to the representations made this feeling is alleged to be so strong as to make any change in the system in present conditions impracticable. I cannot say more until the report has been considered ; but I will not omit to bring the views you have placed before me to-day and stated in such clear terms, to the notice of my Government.

I greatly value the expressions of your loyalty to the person and throne of His Majesty the King Emperor and of your determination to support His Majesty's Government. I am confident that firm reliance may be placed on the strength of those feelings in the hearts of the great mass of the Muhammedan population of India. You have stated in the clearest terms the trust which your community reposes in the declaration of

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the British Parliament and the intentions of the British people regarding the constitutional progress of India. These sentiments do you credit. Trust begets trust ; and it is in the spirit of such trust that the British Government and my Government with the cooperation of all friends of progress in India hope to lead India forward to those great destinies which await her.

You have rightly turned your back on those counsels of violence which seek to lead the feet of India from the broad road to her objective and to cause her to travel by perilous byeways to an unknown destination.

I have noted with gratification the unqualified support which your community desires to give to all measures directed towards the maintenance of law and order. My Government and the Government of Bengal welcome your assurances of cordial cooperation in dispelling the atmosphere of violence and terrorism in Bengal which is inimical to all hope of progress in the Presidency and to the welfare and prosperity of the people.

As Governor-General I receive many protestations of loyalty. These are not difficult to make ; but they are not invariably supplemented by action. In the case of your community, however, your assurances have been accompanied by action and you have courageously and steadfastly resisted all attempts to involve you in the toils of conspiracies for violent crime. I have not failed to note that in the arrests recently made under the provisions of Regulation III or under the Ordinance no member of your community has been involved. I cannot too highly commend the good sense and wisdom which has guided your community in these difficult times.

As regards the appointment of Muhammedans to the Services, as you are aware, my Government have accepted the principle that no class or community should preponderate in the public services if qualified men were otherwise available ; and my

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Government have been acting upon this unexceptionable proposition in the past. The recommendations of the Lee Commission as regards Indianisation, and for the constitution of a Public Services Commission and other factors have made it necessary to examine this question of the representation of communities in the Services and in clerical posts under the Government of India more closely ; and this question is now under the consideration of my Government. You may be assured that I shall carefully bear in mind the representations you have made upon the subject.

As regards the services in Bengal, I understand that Lord Lytton has given very careful consideration to the employment of Muhammedans in the Government Services and that with the help of his Muslim Advisers he has been at pains to examine the best methods of selecting competent and capable Muhammedans for appointments and of checking periodically the progress made in their recruitment. It is the recognised policy of his Government to give at least a third of the new clerical and ministerial appointments to Muhammedans until 33 per cent. of the posts in each office are held by members of this community. I am further informed that the position is regularly checked and that statistics are now being reviewed in order to consider whether there is a case for further steps. In most of the higher appointments recruitment by the system of competitive examination has been introduced ; but even under this system I understand that special provision has been made to secure that the proportion of appointments to be filled by Muhammedans shall in no case be less than one-third. I consider that you have every reason to be satisfied with the care and attention which has been devoted to the subject.

I am glad to note the importance you attach to the educational advancement of your community. I know that Lord Lytton and his Government have given and will continue to

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give you assistance in furthering your desires for the educational progress of your community. Attention to this aspect of development is bound to improve and strengthen the position of your community in the Presidency and in India generally ; but this alone will not suffice. Let me counsel you to sink personal rivalries and prejudices for the progress not only of your community but in the wider interests of India as a whole. I look forward to the day when your leading men, united among themselves and acting in harmony with each other and with all those members of other communities, who have the welfare of India and her people at heart, will work together for the greater good of India as a whole.

Although it may not be strictly germane to the subject-matter of your address to-day, I cannot refrain from referring to the deep concern of myself and my Government at the various manifestations in different parts of the country of bitter hostility between the Muslim and Hindu communities. I cannot let this opportunity pass of meeting leaders of the Muhammedans in Bengal without expressing the earnest hope that the Muhammedans of Bengal may strive their utmost to foster friendly relations between the communities not only in Bengal but throughout India and especially to prevent the recurrence of disturbances which produce painful impressions and must result in increased bitterness. I am fully aware of the difficulties of the situation but I feel sure that the views I have just expressed are shared by you and that so far as may be within your power you will use every effort to make them effective.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of meeting the members of your community to-day and wish your community all prosperity.

20th January 1925. HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE TWO HOUSES OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE AT DELHI ON THE 20TH JANUARY 1925.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening of the Indian Legislative Session on 20th January 1925 :—

*Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—*It is my privilege again to extend a welcome to you who are about to enter upon the labours of the Delhi Session. Many questions of importance will come before you and it is my earnest prayer that the results of your deliberations may prosper the best interests of India and the Empire.

I am glad to note that conditions in India and on her frontiers are at the moment favourable : our relations with our neighbours in foreign countries on our borders are most friendly, and I take this opportunity of welcoming the distinguished officers from the Kingdom of Afghanistan who are present here to witness the military manœuvres now being held in the vicinity of Delhi. Their visit is greatly appreciated in India and is a token of the friendly and neighbourly relations which exist between His Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Amir.

Happily I am able to say that our Waziristan policy appears to be justified by the greater security of our districts and the gradual pacification of the country, though not without the regrettable loss of some valuable lives. Although in South Waziristan various difficult questions still remain unsolved, yet progress is evident. In North Waziristan we have reached pre-war stability. And with this improvement in the general situation it is well to observe that there has been a progressive reduction up to date in the cost of our forces employed in Waziristan.

It is a satisfaction also to record a marked improvement in India in economic conditions and trade prospects. In the first six months of the present financial year Indian imports and exports in sea-borne trade reached a total of 292 crores,

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an advance of 18 crores on the corresponding period of last year and of 39 crores on the figures for the same period in 1922. There are likewise clear signs of returning prosperity in internal trade ; and the marked increase in gross railway receipts places beyond doubt the general revival and growth of internal trade activity. Despite damage in some localities owing to floods in the last monsoon agricultural prospects are generally good. The cotton crop is above average and the outlook of wheat and other spring crops is at present eminently satisfactory.

You have already been made aware of important changes in my Government. I shall in future have the assistance of Sir Bhupendranath Mitra and Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah as Members of my Executive Council and I am confident that I shall derive the advantage I anticipate from their advice and co-operation. But changes are not confined to my Government ; they have occurred also in the Legislature, and especially in the Council of State, for Sir Montagu Butler who was the President of that Honourable Chamber has left it to assume the post of Governor of the Central Provinces. Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, whom I have appointed to succeed him, is well known to the Members of both Chambers. He has had long connection with the Indian Legislature and has won their esteem and respect and I am sure that he will continue to enjoy the confidence of the Members of the Council of State in the higher place among them to which he has now been translated. There have also been a few changes among the Members of the Legislature to which I need not refer in detail ; but I am convinced that the Members of both Houses will join me in deplored that ill-health has necessitated the resignation of the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri who has been a Member of the Council of State since its inception. I trust his absence from the Legislature will only be temporary and

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brief, and that he will soon be restored to health and enabled once more to add the distinction of his intellectual gifts to the Legislature and to devote his great capacities to public affairs.

I desire to embrace this opportunity of expressing my high appreciation of the labours of Lord Hardinge, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Muhammad Rafique who represented India as delegates at the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September and October last. The meetings were of unusual importance and interest and from them have emerged the proposals for the Protocol which are now under the consideration of His Majesty's Government and the Governments of other nations concerned,

When considering affairs outside India, attention naturally and inevitably turns to Indians overseas. When I addressed the Legislature in January last the position of Indians in Kenya was critical; and I foreshadowed the appointment of a Committee to make representations on behalf of the Government of India regarding the Immigration Ordinance in Kenya in particular and other questions relating to Indians in the Colonies. The *personnel* of the Committee was announced in March last and the Committee began their labours in London in April. They had a number of interviews with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the officials of the Colonial Office and made representations regarding many important matters affecting Indians in Kenya, Fiji and the mandated territories of Tanganyika.

I cannot too highly praise the thoroughness and ability with which they performed their delicate task and I am grateful for the very patient hearing which the representatives of His Majesty's Government, Mr. Thomas and the officers of his Department accorded to them.

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As regards Kenya, the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Thomas were announced in the House of Commons on August, the 7th last. On the question of Franchise and the Highlands there was no change in the position ; but as regards immigration, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies after hearing our representatives was not satisfied with the data submitted from Kenya and was unable to agree with the Kenya authorities that a case had been made out to justify the Ordinance. He therefore gave an assurance that the Immigration Legislation would not be placed on the Statute Book. The further restrictions then on the point of being imposed upon the immigration of Indians were accordingly removed. As regards Indian Colonisation, Mr. Thomas announced that it was proposed to reserve an area in the lowlands for agricultural emigrants from India ; but that before the scheme took final shape an officer with experience of the needs of Indian settlers and agricultural knowledge would be sent to report on the areas to be offered for colonisation. Reports in regard to the areas have now been received by my Government ; and we are considering the question of deputing an officer to examine these areas from the aspect of their suitability for Indian settlement. These are substantial gains and our gratitude is due to the Committee for the clarity and earnestness of their representation of the Indian point of view to His Majesty's Government. Moreover these gains are not the only advantages which accrued from their visit. A better atmosphere has been created and that wider understanding of different points of view has grown up which is the outcome of personal discussion and free and frank interchange of views.

In June last His Majesty's Government announced the appointment of an East African Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Southborough to consider and report on certain questions regarding the administration and economic
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development of the British African Dependencies. Having regard to the importance of this enquiry to Indian interests my Government made representations to secure a hearing of the Indian point of view before the Committee came to conclusions. I am glad to inform the Legislature that our representations have been accepted and the Southborough Committee will hear the opinions of Indian representatives nominated by my Government upon all matters coming within their purview.

If the pendulum has swung in the direction desired by India on these questions, the position in South Africa on the other hand has been less favourable. Towards the end of December news was received that the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa had given his assent to the Natal Borough Ordinance. This measure while safeguarding the rights of Indians upon the electoral roll of boroughs, will prevent further enrolment of Indians as burgesses. The serious implications of the measure on the future of Indians, who have special vocational and trading connections with the towns in South Africa, will readily be realised. From the outset the Government of India had recognised the effect this measure might have upon the position of resident Indians in Natal both as regards their civic and economic status; and my Government made strong representations to the Union Government as soon as a copy of the Ordinance was received in August last. At that time there was reason to hope that since a similar but more drastic measure had been disallowed previously by the Governor-General, this Ordinance would also share the same fate; to our regret however the Government of the Union advised the Governor-General to give assent to the Bill; and accordingly the measure has now become law. The situation created is engaging the most earnest attention of myself and my Government; we have lost no time in making representa-

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tions to His Majesty's Government and in placing before them in an emphatic manner the difficulties in which resident Indians are likely to be placed by the operation of this law. Every endeavour will be made to discover a remedy ; but in view of the powers of Dominion Governments in internal and domestic affairs the position is one of delicacy and a solution will not be easy to find. Patience will again be necessary ; I may remind you that when the position in Kenya seemed most unfavourable, temperate arguments and full and frank discussion resulted in a better understanding of the Indian point of view and in a measure of relief to the disabilities felt by Indians. I hope that as in the case of Kenya, so also in this case some remedy may be devised. I have promised to receive a deputation on this question and will discuss with them at a later date, in the light of further information which I hope to receive, the prospects of finding a solution to the present difficulties. For the present I say nothing more on the subject.

Of measures which will engage the attention of the Legislature an important section concerns Commerce, Industry and Finance. I will not dwell at length upon the Trades Union and Trades dispute legislation because I have recently explained the genesis and scope of these measures to the Associated Chambers in Calcutta. Both these measures mark a new step in the progress of labour legislation in India. I believe opinion has been expressed in some quarters that we are moving too fast along the line of labour legislation ; but both these Bills only deal with essentials and are of a simple nature ; and great weight must be given to the view that at a moment when labour has commenced organisation and is assuming prominence, recognition should be given by statute to the fact and development on the right lines should be secured. I attach importance to the right preliminaries, though the future of Trades Unions in India will, I realise, largely depend

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not on enactments but on the spirit shown by the employers and workers and on the attitude of the public. Let me also remind you that the views expressed by my Government in those Bills are tentative only ; and when comments have been received they will be carefully considered and changes made as may appear desirable in the light of the criticisms expressed.

It is gratifying to observe the very keen interest taken by the Legislature in the working of the Tariff Board. During the past year, my Government have placed before you proposals based on two of the reports of the Board. The most important of these resulted in the passing of the Steel Industry (Protection) Act, which imposed heavy protective duties on a wide range of steel products covering most of those in ordinary consumption. The rates embodied in that Act were the result of careful investigation by the Tariff Board, but since they were brought into force, the Steel Industry has represented that further protection is required largely owing to a rapid and marked fall in the prices of Continental steel. This question was referred to the Tariff Board for enquiry, and during this session a resolution based on their report will be brought forward for consideration by the Legislature. The fall in prices of Continental steel had been so heavy that an attempt to deal with the position by means of increased import duties would have resulted in practically doubling the existing duties, with the consequence that from 50 to 70 per cent. of the landed cost of imported steel would have been represented by the duties charged. Obviously my Government could not agree to duties on such a high scale on articles which are largely used in agriculture and many other important industries. They have, however, accepted the general conclusions of the Tariff Board, and the Legislature will be asked in this session to agree to the grant of bounty on steel produced in India between October 1st, 1924, and September 30th, 1925.

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The total amount of bounty proposed is fifty lakhs, which is the sum that it is calculated the industry would receive under the Tariff Board's proposals, were the rates recommended by the Board to become fully effective. This is a very favourable interpretation of the recommendations of the Board, especially as it allows the industry to obtain the advantage of the protection accorded without waiting for sales. If the grant of this bounty is made, it should prove of material assistance to the steel industry of India in its difficulties.

You will have noticed that the policy advocated by the Fiscal Commission has been steadily pursued. The Tariff Board is now engaged in investigating the applications for protection from certain other industries, notably cement and paper. The principle has been maintained that it is right and proper that any industry which appeals to the State for assistance must prove its case in public before an impartial Board. It is only by this means that an opinion can be reached on the merits of the case and the implications and effects of a demand for protection envisaged.

It is evident from private Bills, resolutions and questions that Members are taking a lively interest in the difficult questions of currency and exchange; and it may be of interest to the Legislature to hear from me an indication of the policy of my Government upon these problems. While internal prices in India have on the whole remained steady, there has been a considerable rise in the sterling value of the rupee during the past year and an even more marked rise in its gold value owing to the simultaneous improvement in the gold value of sterling. Thus far during the present busy season there has not been a repetition of the exceptional stringency in the money-market which characterised this period a year ago, and I am hopeful that the assistance which my

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Government have been able and will be able to give in the matter of providing additional currency, combined with the improved conditions on which emergency currency can now be issued to the Imperial Bank, will enable all legitimate demands to be met without undue strain during the remainder of the season.

My Government proposes in the first place to amend the Indian Paper Currency Act so as to increase the permissible investment of securities in the Paper Currency Reserve from the present limit of 85 crores of rupees to 100 crores.

The object of this proposal is to give the Government of India increased powers to ensure the supply of currency upon an adequate scale to meet the requirements of trade and in particular to prevent undue monetary stringency in the busy season.

We have made announcements from time to time to Chambers of Commerce and in the Assembly that if my Government found existing powers were likely to prove insufficient, it would not hesitate to ask for increased discretion.

We began the present busy season with a margin of 13½ crores of permissible investment; and we have up to date increased currency by six crores, British Securities to the amount of six million pounds having been placed in the reserve in England. There is still therefore a margin of 7½ crores; but it is considered desirable to ask the Legislature for increased powers to meet possible contingencies.

The Members of the Legislature may rest assured that these provisions for increased discretion to meet demands for currency are a healthy development and offer no indications of a morbid tendency. The need is an outcome of the improvement of trade which is now definitely recovering from post-war depressions and it is natural that increased trade should require increased currency facilities.

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It should also be noted that this increase of currency represents an addition made by Government quite independent of the amount which the Imperial Bank is entitled to ask as a loan from the Paper Currency Reserve against the security of Internal Trade Bills. The Imperial Bank is entitled to ask for sums up to 12 crores. The conditions upon which the Bank can ask for this emergency currency have recently been modified by requiring that the first four crores may be taken when the bank rate is at six per cent, and any part of the remainder may be taken when the bank rate reaches seven per cent.

There has been a considerable feeling in some quarters that the time has come for the appointment of a Currency Committee to investigate the difficult question of exchange and to make recommendations. The suggestion has been carefully examined by me in consultation with my Finance Member and has been for some time past the subject of discussion between my Government and the Secretary of State. The chief difficulty to be considered is the fluidity of economic and exchange factors in the world. The question is not affected only by features in India and England or even in the Empire; world conditions have also to be considered and powerfully affect the issues; and there is the danger that if a Committee sits at a time when factors are still unstable, its recommendations will be based on shifting data and whatever may be the capacity and skill of the Committee, its conclusion will inevitably be of the nature of guess work rather than of expert findings based upon the examination of stable conditions and well-established tendencies. The result of discussion with the Secretary of State is that I am now authorised to make the following announcement which explains the conclusions of His Majesty's Government and my Government upon the proposal.

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The Government of India have been in communication with the Secretary of State on the subject of the rupee exchange and the intention of Government is to appoint an authoritative Committee to consider the question as soon as world economic factors appear sufficiently stable to justify formulation of a new policy. In their judgment there is much to be gained by postponing an enquiry till those factors on which any decision must rest are less fluid and obscure. But they anticipate that if the movement towards more stable conditions, which has lately manifested itself, continues, the appointment of such a Committee should be possible not later than 12 months hence.

In view of the opinion expressed in the Assembly regarding the need of an economic enquiry my Government has decided in consultation with the Secretary of State to appoint a small Committee to report on the material which exists for holding an enquiry into the economic conditions of the people of India, the feasibility of instituting an enquiry of this character and the manner in which it could be carried out. Meanwhile the Taxation Committee have begun their labours.

It may also become necessary for my Government to introduce to the Legislature a measure to define the powers of the High Court in relation to tribunals and proceedings under the special Bengal Criminal Legislation. You are aware that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has exercised the powers conferred upon him under the Government of India Act and has certified and signed the Bill. I take this opportunity of stating that His Excellency's action in this respect has my full approval, and that I shall support both him and his Government to the extent of my powers in meeting what I regard as a serious emergency. Inasmuch as I have decided to reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, I do not now propose to discuss its detailed provisions or the

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Bill which my Government may eventually seek to introduce should His Majesty in Council signify assent to the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. Nevertheless, as this legislation had its origin in the Ordinance, which I as Governor-General in the exercise of the special responsibilities laid upon me promulgated, let me refer to certain aspects affecting the issue of the Ordinance.

Very full explanations have already been given to the public.

In spite however of the full ventilation which the question has received, some important aspects of it appear to be still clouded by the mists of misapprehension in the minds of some sections of the public ; and the necessity both of my action and of the course adopted by the Government of Bengal has repeatedly been challenged.

I shall not travel again over the ground covered in my Calcutta speech. As the result of the public discussions it is now admitted on all sides, even by the most convinced opponents of special measures and special legislation, that a terrorist movement exists in Bengal, and that widespread conspiracies for violent crimes have been established. The objects which these conspiracies have in view as a result of their crimes are also not disputed. It has been proved by sad experience that the ordinary law, even when reinforced by the use of Regulation III in cases to which it can be applied, is ineffective to stop the movement or even to check its growth ; and that the progress of the movement involves loss of life not only among officials but among innocent citizens unconnected with Government or with the activities of any political party.

Yet in spite of this knowledge of these facts, there has been bitter criticism of the measures adopted to check and cure the evil. I find it hard to believe that those who indulge so

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freely in criticism have ever seriously attempted to think out the eventual implications of the movement or earnestly endeavoured to consider the responsibilities of Government or of the Governor-General in the case.

It is hardly conceivable that any thinking man can approve of the spread of activities which seek to terrorise the population by breaking down established authority through a campaign of murder of officials and do not hesitate to destroy innocent victims who cross their path or to exact reprisals in form of the lives of those who give evidence or information of contemplated outrages. It is obvious that those activities can only end, if unchecked, in the paralysis of Government and of law and order and may place the lives and properties of helpless citizens at the mercy of a pitiless criminal organisation.

I cannot believe that any member of any political party in India, even if he is opposed, and vehemently opposed, to the Government as now constituted in India, would deny that it was the duty of Government to prevent the coming to pass of such a condition of affairs.

But it is urged that the Ordinance was not necessary. It is argued that these criminal activities could be adequately checked by the efforts of the police and the prosecution of the malefactors before courts of justice. I whole-heartedly wish that I could subscribe to this argument, but I cannot accept it because it is in complete disregard of the true facts. It is essential to remember that we were not dealing with criminals who could be arrested and tried for crimes on evidence freely given by persons with nothing to fear from their action in giving testimony. We were not dealing with the violent and open insurrection of a mob which could be fought with its own weapons. We were on the contrary dealing with wide-spread secret societies with many ramifications, which had

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taken the greatest care to conceal their insidious organisations and nefarious plans and were prepared to exact swiftly and secretly terrible reprisals upon members of their own society or members of the public giving information as to their actions.

You will doubtless remember that I addressed you on this subject at the opening of the proceedings of the Legislature in January of last year. Thereafter the Government of Bengal and my Government were for a long time in anxious consultation in regard to measures and every effort was made to cope with the danger by the ordinary law, reinforced by such special action as lay within our power. Regulation III was used for reasons and in a manner I have previously explained to this Legislature. These measures however proved ineffective; and finally after exhausting all the weapons in their armoury, the Government of Bengal made a request to my Government. The members of that Government, Europeans and Indians, after careful consideration of the evidence and with full knowledge of the history and character of the local situation were unanimous in applying to me to issue an Ordinance giving special powers to deal with this dangerous emergency. The investigation of the situation did not rest there; notwithstanding that it was for me to determine whether the Ordinance should issue, it is for the Executive to assist in administering its powers. Moreover, I have during my term of office learnt to value the advice of the Members of my Council, and I have always derived the greatest help from their considered opinions. I therefore consulted them. I am well aware that I am taking a wholly exceptional course in giving you this information, but I do it advisedly after careful thought. The whole question was then studied in all aspects by the members of my Government, both Europeans and Indians, who arrived at a unanimous conclusion that the Ordinance was the only remedy available. The situation was then laid before the Secretary of

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State including the proposals for the promulgation of the Ordinance. The whole matter was submitted to careful examination by Lord Olivier and His Majesty's Government as then constituted. They agreed with the course suggested as the only possible method of dealing with the dangers facing the peace of Bengal. You will thus observe that my action was not only due to my personal conviction of the necessity for it, but that the view taken by me, and also by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, has the support and approval of high and experienced authorities, both European and Indian, and was approved by the then Secretary of State.

I have already explained elsewhere why the Members of the Legislature were not consulted in September last. It has since been urged that the Legislature should have been summoned again before I took the step of promulgation. In my judgment this course was neither in the circumstances desirable, nor indeed was it possible, if the means devised were to prove effective. The responsibility was of a nature which could not be shared, and it would not be right or proper for me to try to share it with you or to place it on your shoulders. Consultation with the Legislature would have meant publicity. The aim was to prevent crime and to paralyse the activities of the conspiracies. Past experience in the Government of India and the conclusions of the Rowlatt Committee point to the fact that to check conspiracies of this nature with success two features are essential. In the first place, the organisations must not know that general action of a special nature is under contemplation against them; and in the second place, the method of working and the sources of information must not be endangered directly or indirectly. Any rashness or carelessness on these points may make future action entirely fruitless and completely nullify the object to be secured. If discussions in this Legislature had taken place, these conditions could not

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have been fulfilled and the Ordinance would have proved futile as a remedy for the disease.

There is, I regret to say, a tendency among some sections of public opinion in India to confuse all administrative acts with influences having reactions on desires for political progress. The repression of violent crime has, however, no affinity with the treatment of aspirations for advance. They have no resemblance in kind or degree and they are phenomena existing on entirely different planes.

Terrorism no doubt may sometimes batten on a section of political thought. It may expand like some foul parasite-growth deriving strength from living sources outside its own entity. It may flourish for a time in this conjunction if it can cajole or frighten a political party into acquiescence or into encouragement of its activities; but no political party can continue to live with terror for a friend. The parasite will kill the host. True political progress can have no lot or part with terrorism. Whatever differences of opinion may exist between me and my Government and sections of public opinion regarding the Ordinance, I trust that the Members of the Indian Legislature will realise that my action was taken only after the most careful examination of the whole situation and with the sole object of preventing violent crime.

You will not be surprised that I refrain to-day from discussing the important constitutional questions referred to the Reforms Enquiry Committee which have formed the subject of important public discussion. You are aware that the Report of the Committee is now under the consideration of myself and the members of my Government. The weighty nature of the problems and of the investigation by the Committee demands our most careful attention and study, and I think it right to avoid observations upon any of the various

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questions involved until there has been adequate opportunity for thorough examination and deliberation by me and my Government. I desire however to take advantage of this opportunity to express to Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Chairman, and all the members of the Committee my deep gratitude for the valuable services they have rendered. They have had a difficult task ; they have not spared themselves either in time or labour, and I cannot too highly commend the care and expedition with which they have completed their task. They have devoted themselves whole-heartedly and to the best of their well known capacities to the duties entrusted to them. Whatever opinions may be expressed hereafter upon the results of their efforts, I feel sure that you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian public generally will agree with me in this tribute of appreciation of their services.

I have been deeply gratified to learn that the leaders of the two communities in Kohat have reached agreement, and that there are now good prospects of the return of the Hindus and of the resumption of past friendly and neighbourly relations. I was grievously distressed by the wound which communal tension had inflicted upon Kohat. I shall not refer to the painful events at the riots or their causes, as these have already been dealt with in the resolution of my Government and I shall serve no useful purpose by re-discussing them ; but leaving these aside, the question which caused me the most acute anxiety and thought was the problem of reconciliation and of the future relations of the two communities. From the outset I have done all in my power to try to heal the wound and to bring the parties together. At one moment reconciliation seemed imminent, but the negotiations proved abortive ; nevertheless, I and those associated with me were unwilling to regard the collapse as final. I have always been ready to take any official measures which may assist to restore the

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harmony and unity formerly traditional between the communities in this Frontier town ; but I have recognised that these efforts were of the nature of an auxiliary to settlement and not the actual foundation of settlement. Any system of peace imposed from above or from outside would have neither been real nor lasting. The peace must be the peace of Kohat ; and until each party could itself testify that the heart had been cleansed from rancour, there could be no basis for permanent good-will in the future. I understand that the settlement has been well received by the two communities at large, and I trust that I may now hear that active steps are being taken towards the end which I and my Government have so much at heart—a restoration of that harmony and neighbourly relations between Hindu and Moslem which had long been in existence at Kohat. I know that I shall carry the Members of the Indian Legislature with me when I express the most earnest hope that this settlement may prove an enduring restoration of peace and good-will between the two communities at Kohat. I trust I may not be taking too optimistic a view when I express the further hope that the present high state of tension in the relations between the Hindu and Moslem communities in different parts of India may be relieved, and that more friendly relations between them may ensue. I need not assure you that I and my Government have observed with the deepest concern the lamentable series of riots and disturbances which have resulted in so much loss of life and property and, what is perhaps even more deplorable, so much exacerbation of old animosities. We are profoundly impressed by the necessity of taking all possible action to relieve this atmosphere of tension and to avert or mitigate the disorders which it unfortunately generates. I know that these views are shared to the full by all Local Governments. Nevertheless, I deemed it proper some time ago to invite their close and earnest attention to these matters, and I have every assurance that no

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effort will be spared by them or by their officers not only to avert temporary or local causes of trouble or to minimise its results, but steadfastly to promote permanent mutual relations of harmony and good-will. I am equally confident that all enlightened members of the communities affected equally deplore and are equally concerned in reconciling these unhappy communal dissensions. They will recognise with me that on a solution of these difficulties depend not only the present peace and prosperity of India but also her future progress. I readily acknowledge that strenuous efforts have already been made, and are still being made, by leaders of Indian public opinion to establish more harmonious relations between these communities. I cannot too strongly affirm that this object is constantly and sincerely sought after by all responsible public authorities in India ; but no measures, legislative or executive, however ingeniously devised, can be expected to produce immediate effect on the ancient and deep-rooted cause of these troubles. They can only be removed by the growth of a spirit of toleration and enlightenment. It cannot be denied that these animosities are a serious hindrance to the promotion of unity of aim in India, and that these quarrels and disturbances must inevitably retard political progress. Whatever differences may divide us in India, we must all agree that every effort should be made to prevent the recurrence of these communal troubles. In this field we can, and should, co-operate, and I trust that all members of these two communities and others, who are moved by humanity, public spirit and patriotism, will join with me and the responsible authorities in India in earnest efforts to promote this spirit of larger tolerance and conciliation. If this object could be attained, the distance along the road to political unity in India will be considerably shortened. Moreover, I venture to cherish the hope that the diffusion of this spirit of harmony and good-will may com-

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municate itself to other regions of acute controversy, and that in due course of time, and aided by this brighter and purer light, the road may be more quickly found to peace and prosperity in India.

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UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

26th
January
1925.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Aligarh University Convocation on the 26th January :—

Your Highness, Vice-Chancellor and Members of the Court,—
I thank you for the kind welcome which you have extended to me. I have listened with the greatest interest to your address explaining the history of the University and the aims and ideals for which it stands.

The Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, now reconstituted as the Aligarh Muslim University, has passed through many vicissitudes in the 50 years of its life. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of its history is to be found in the fact that at the critical periods of its life it was threatened with the greatest dangers, and that at those times of peril true friends were never lacking to protect and preserve it. Let me dwell for a moment on those periods when its future, nay even its existence, was endangered. When the College started in 1875, in spite of the high purpose, great enthusiasm and indefatigable exertions of its founder its early days were clouded by an atmosphere of misapprehension in the minds of those chiefly destined to derive benefit from it. This took the form both of active opposition and passive apathy. It required all the strong personality of Sir Saiyid and the exercise of his great magnetism upon others to bring the College successfully through this difficult period. Many years later, in 1911, when the College had been firmly established, a movement was set on foot with

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they will, I feel sure, continue to inspire and guide all connected with the University in the future. The words are as follows :—

“ Looking to the difficulties which stood in our way and the success which has already been achieved, we do not doubt that we shall receive even in larger measure both from the English Government and our own countrymen that liberal support which has furthered our scheme ; that from the seed which we sow to-day there may spring up a mighty tree whose branches like the Banyan shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings ; that this College may expand into a University whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free enquiry, of large-hearted toleration and of pure morality.”

The memory of this fine spirit, of this courage which feared no opposition, of this confidence which rose superior to disappointments and of this idealism which no doubts or prejudices could dismay is the most priceless heritage both of this University and of the Muslim community in India. Indeed I would not confine it to the latter community alone, but would assert that the achievements of Sir Saiyid are a possession in which Indians of all classes and creeds take just pride ; and in measure as his example has been a source of strength and inspiration to the leaders of the Muslim community in particular through many years, in such measure also may all those who think and work for the true welfare of India derive encouragement and comfort from the story of his life.

His life holds a wonderful lesson for all men and for young men on the threshold of their careers in particular. It reveals the splendid reward bestowed by Providence in its omniscience upon the work of those who place service before self. It dis-

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plays the great success attending the labours of those who sink all personal ambitions and rivalries in the higher good of their community and their country, of those who are entirely disinterested in their purpose and who aim at objects wholly noble. Such men leave an honoured name behind them and a reputation which generations yet unborn will hold in reverence. It also makes clear how achievement depends on pertinacity and labour. Sir Saiyid did not rest content to dream of his life's work. He did not entrust its performance to others. He spared no effort in investigating the best way in which he could secure the advancement of Muslim education and the future position of his community. Having thoroughly satisfied himself of a practical method, he devoted his life to its execution. No detail was too unimportant for his attention. No troublesome task was too irksome to be undertaken. His feet did not turn aside from any path because of the obstacles and difficulties in the way.

Greatest perhaps of all of the lessons which he left behind is the need for breadth of vision. Sir Saiyid was deeply imbued with the desire to educate and advance his own community to take an honoured place worthy of their past traditions and history in India. It was a laudable ambition ; and if he had been a smaller man, he might have confined himself to this aspect of the case only ; but his vision travelled further ; and he saw that the position which he coveted for Muslims could only be worthy of occupation if it was to be in a strong, united and honoured India ; and behind and in front of his immediate object was the conception that India could only become great and honoured if all communities in India united to work for her welfare. He saw his community shining as a separate star of remarkable purity and brilliance which would notably add to its brilliance and power if it formed with other stars, each contributing its quota of light and beauty, a great stellar system illuminating the world's firmament with

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the rays of civilisation and progress. His vision pierced the mists of the future and he saw an India where his own important community stood side by side with other leading communities, working in harmony with all classes and creeds for a united India, for an honoured India, for a greater India, for an India strong in her own strength and stronger by her connection and part in the powerful British Empire.

27th
January
1925.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE LEPROSY RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Inaugural meeting of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association on the 27th January at Delhi and addressed the gathering as follows.—

I have summoned this representative meeting to-day to inaugurate the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association and to launch my appeal for the moral and financial support of all classes in India in my endeavour to remove the menace of leprosy from our midst.

Before I come to the nature of the appeal itself, let me read you the encouraging message which I have received from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who is Patron of the Association. His Royal Highness has telegraphed to me as follows:—

“I have learnt with utmost gratification of Your Excellency's intention to launch an appeal on behalf of an Indian Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association with a view to free India from the awful scourge of leprosy. Thanks to recent researches this ideal has become possible of attainment if adequate funds are provided for proper medical treatment of lepers under suitable conditions. I am confident that with their characteristic generosity and public spirit the Princes

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and great landholders and in fact all sections of the community will vie with each other in supporting this great humanitarian movement. I shall watch its progress with the greatest interest and sympathy."

His Royal Highness is Patron of the Association, and we are here met to constitute the Indian Council which comes into being at what I conceive to be a most appropriate movement. In spite of the unremitting devotion of those who so zealously laboured in the cause of the lepers, the disease of leprosy until a few years ago was regarded as almost beyond medical treatment, and the lepers themselves were either the objects of a pity without hope or the most despised of all outcasts in human society. The public attitude towards the leper, and the feelings of the leper himself were alike dictated by ignorance of the nature of the disease and horror at its loathsome results. Almost from the beginning of recorded history mankind has sought blindly to protect itself against contact with this dreaded disease by segregating lepers in colonies of isolation. Never was there a more ironical case of locking the door after the steed was stolen than this segregation of the leper in the advanced stage of his disease, when the deformities and sores which disfigured his body showed only too plainly the nature of his ailment. For it is now known that leprosy is most infectious and, therefore, most dangerous in its early stages, and that when a leprous patient has reached the stage of deformity his power to infect others no longer exists.

Modern research has revolutionised our knowledge of leprosy and, therefore, our attitude towards it. The patient labours of the laboratory have traced the disease to its source, and have established beyond doubt the fact that leprosy is due to no obscure or unknowable cause, but to a bacillus now known as the bacillus lepra. From the discovery and isolation of this bacillus springs the new hope in the treatment of leprosy.

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The second step on the road to the cure of leprosy was taken when, after anxious experiment, it was proved that by the injection of certain preparations—the details of which I need not describe—the progress of the disease could be arrested and the patient restored to something like normal health. In view of the fact that, though this process has passed out of the experimental stage, it still needs to be further thoroughly tested by experience, the leaders in leprosy research are now turning to the public for assistance. The further promotion of research on as wide and intensive a scale as possible into the modern treatment of leprosy is one of the first demands of the moment. I therefore place it before you as offering a large measure of justification for the appeal which I now address to you.

To reinforce this part of my argument, let me quote the weighty word of Sir Leonard Rogers, who may be regarded as probably the greatest living authority on leprosy—

“ Scientific progress has now furnished the means of relieving the majority of the world’s army of lepers from their indescribable afflictions, and the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association has come to life, imbued with the firm resolve not to leave any stone unturned to bring about this desirable result and, at the same time, to eradicate the plague by utilising to the full the means to that end now available.”

This is, therefore, as I said above, the appropriate moment at which to enlist the co-operation of the general public, and particularly its financial co-operation, with the scientists in order that these beginnings of remarkable promise may be brought at the earliest possible moment to fruition.

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The work which lies immediately ahead of the Indian Council of this Association consists in—

- (1) The promotion of further research into the causes and treatment of leprosy.
- (2) The devising of means whereby the results of this research may be effectively communicated to the medical profession throughout India.
- (3) The establishment of institutions, such as Outpatient Skin Cliniques and dispensaries for the treatment of patients by the new methods ; the extension of existing institutions, or the foundation of new ones wherein those very numerous cases of leprosy, which constitute a positive danger to the public, may be segregated.
- (4) The provision of assistance to those institutions founded with the humanitarian purpose of providing a home for lepers who have reached the more hopeless stage of deformity.
- (5) The consideration of means whereby the manufacture of the special drugs used in the modern treatment of this disease may be cheapened and extended.
- (6) The prosecution of an ardent campaign of enlightenment which will bring the elementary facts of this disease, as revealed by modern research, to the knowledge of the whole Indian community.

Without cumbering my argument further with the details of the programme drawn up by the Indian Council, I declare that this purpose, for which I have created the Council, is one in the fulfilment of which I confidently invite you to co-operate, knowing that my invitation will command an instant response of sympathy.

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Let me define with greater precision the character of the fund to which I am now asking you to contribute. This is no mean task that we have undertaken. The menace to the well-being of the people and the burden which leprosy lays upon them are both greater than is commonly realised. It has been estimated, for instance, that the census returns reveal less than one-quarter of the total number of lepers in India, and that, on a conservative reckoning one in every three to four hundred of the population is a leper. This single fact gives us some measure of the magnitude of the task before us. The solution of the problem, therefore, calls for a very special effort on the part of the whole Indian community.

The prosecution of this campaign will require a large expenditure of money ; and I wish to make it plain that the aim of my appeal is to furnish the Indian Council with a really substantial endowment which will ensure to the benefit of future generations as well as our own, and will place on a basis of permanence the work which we are able to inaugurate. If we are to carry out the programme drawn up by my Medical Advisory Committee, a capital fund of generous amount is needed.

The management of all the affairs of the Indian Council has been entrusted to a General Committee of which the Executive Committee is the working instrument. You will find in the leaflet now in your hands that I have enlisted the powerful support of Their Excellencies the Governors of all the Provinces, and the indispensable co-operation of some of the Ruling Princes. The appeal itself, which is now being launched for the whole of India from this platform, will be speedily reinforced by meetings held under the auspices of the Governor of each Province and the heads of many Indian States ; and I have decided to invite each of these authorities personally to be the accredited representative of the Indian Council within

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his own Province or State. No doubt much money will flow into the hands of the Treasurer of the Central Body, but considerable sums will also be subscribed to the Provincial Branches of my fund. I wish, therefore, to say that, while all monies collected for this leprosy appeal will be transmitted to the Treasurer at headquarters, the Indian Council will design its general plan of operations, and authorise any necessary expenditure from time to time, according to an all-India plan in which the interests, the contributions, and the needs of each Indian State, Province, or Administration will receive ample consideration. Let me observe at this point that, inasmuch as the further promotion of research is one of the most important functions of this appeal, expenditure upon it must necessarily be authorised with the sole and single aim of producing the speediest and most enduring result. Beyond this, in any special training of medical men that may be necessary, in the measures taken for the establishment of dispensaries, colonies, and other appropriate institutions, and in the provision of the material for educating public opinion, I propose to instruct the Committees and officers of the Indian Council to practise a meticulous regard for the interest of Provinces. In general, I think, that a study of the *personnel* to whom I have entrusted the management of this appeal and the promotion of any measures arising out of it, will offer the necessary assurance to all interested that no substantial or legitimate interest will be neglected.

I have now stated the fundamental objects of my appeal and the general purposes to which the money which it elicits will be devoted. I am confident that those here to-day, and many outside these walls all over India, have only to be made aware of the facts of the case to respond generously to this appeal. By the ceaseless and vigilant labours of our scientists we are presented to-day with an opportunity of making a great

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and memorable advance in the campaign to rid India of this terrible scourge.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I present this appeal to you and to all India with the conviction that it will not lack an instant and generous response.

28th
January
1925.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO A DEPUTATION FROM THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

In replying to the address of the Deputation from the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association at Delhi on the 28th January, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen.—I am glad to have the opportunity of welcoming you here this evening. You are members of a deputation which is to an unusual and remarkable degree representative and influential. The composition of this deputation indeed shows how deeply stirred are the feelings of the whole country in regard to the conditions of Indians in South Africa. Although no Ruling Prince is actually with you to-day, yet I observe that you have received messages of sympathy from His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and that His Highness desires it to be known that the Princes are in agreement with the object of this deputation. I welcome also the presence of the distinguished representatives of the non-official and commercial communities, and it is specially noteworthy that Indians and Europeans are associated together in this deputation and with the same purpose in view. The question before us is of the utmost importance to the future of the Empire, and it is well that the British in India should show in this unmistakable way that they identify themselves with those questions which affect seriously the interests and the position of India in the Empire.

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In your address you have given a concise historical survey of this complicated problem, and it must be admitted that that survey leaves on the mind an impression of deep disappointment. On the conclusion of the 1914 Settlement, as it is termed in your address, it appeared that the causes of future friction between the Government of South Africa and the Indians resident within its borders had been removed. At the conclusion of the negotiations of 1914 a letter was written on behalf of General Smuts to Mr. Gandhi in which the following passage occurs :—

“ With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been, and will continue to be, the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner with due regard to vested rights. In conclusion General Smuts desires me to say that it is of course understood, and he wishes no doubts on the subject to remain, that the placing of the Indians Relief Bill on the Statute Book of the Union, coupled with the fulfilment of the assurances he is giving in this letter in regard to the other matters referred to herein and touched upon at the recent interviews, will constitute a complete and final settlement of the controversy which has unfortunately existed for so long, and will be unreservedly accepted as such by the Indian community.”

This letter indicated, at any rate in the mind of General Smuts, a feeling of hopefulness for the future, and it does not seem unreasonable to infer that at that time the Union Government did not contemplate the necessity of imposing any fresh restrictions on Indians already in the country. As I understand, it was in this sense that the agreement was interpreted in India, and the speeches made by the representatives of South Africa at the

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Imperial Conferences of 1917 and 1918 tend to support this interpretation. General Smuts speaking at the Imperial Conference of 1917 said :—

“ There is still a difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail some of which are referred to in the memorandum which is before us. But I feel sure, and I have always felt sure, that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we are now, that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers there has been removed. The great principle of restricted immigration, for which they have contended, is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India ; and that being so, I think that the door is open now for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred, and will occur, from time to time.”

It is not difficult therefore to understand the feelings of disappointment that have invaded the country when the several restrictive enactments you have detailed have successively been brought into effect in the last few years, culminating in the Natal Boroughs Ordinance.

The immediate occasion of this deputation is the passing into law of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance, which has received the assent of the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa on the advice of the Union Government. This Ordinance, whilst safeguarding the rights of those Indians who are already on the electoral roll of boroughs in Natal, will prevent any fur-

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ther enrolment of Indians as burgesses. The next generation of Indians, though born in South Africa, will not possess the municipal vote. It is stated in your address that "the municipal franchise was solemnly assured" to Indians by the Natal Government when in 1896 Indians were deprived of the Parliamentary franchise; but you have not indicated the exact source or the nature of the assurance. My Government are making the necessary enquiries to verify the position, and meanwhile I should be glad to be supplied by you with any further information you may possess upon this subject. It is not necessary for your case, for apart from any question of assurance or promise, and apart even from any question of sentiment, it cannot be disputed that it will be a serious deprivation to the Indian community to be excluded from any part or lot in the administration of the municipal affairs that touch their every day lives. Moreover, the Ordinance can hardly fail to affect injuriously the economic life of many of them. The municipalities administer the licensing laws, and I understand that a considerable number of the Indian community are small traders trading under municipal licenses; and it becomes unnecessary to enlarge on their possible disadvantages when deprived of the influence of the suffrage on those who administer the licensing laws.

For a time there seems to be some hope that this new policy of imposing fresh restrictions on Indians in Natal would be checked by the Union Government; but the passing into law of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance appears to indicate that the Provinces will be, to a large extent, left to deal with the Indian problems as may seem best to them. This is a position that Indians must regard with increasing misgiving.

At this moment when the action now taken in Natal, following on other measures taken or proposed in Natal or elsewhere,

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suggests that the position of Indians in South Africa has reached a crisis, I should be unresponsive indeed if I did not fully appreciate the sentiment which stirs the country, and is well expressed by this remarkable deputation, exemplifying in a striking manner the co-operation of Indians and Europeans of varying shades of opinion and varying interests. Firm in the faith of the future of India within the Empire, I am deeply concerned at the turn of events and at the possible reactions on Imperial relationships. I need not say that my Government is entirely with me in the desire to obtain more favourable consideration from the Union Government for the interests of Indians resident in South Africa. From my own personal knowledge I can assure you that Sir Narasimha Sarma, when in charge of the Department, laboured devotedly to represent and uphold the Indian cause, and I am convinced that Sir Muhammed Habibullah will not be behind him in the earnestness of his endeavour to the same end. As a Government, we have consistently, and persistently, striven to the utmost of our capacities for this purpose.

But I must not conceal from you that the difficulties which confront us all are great. Your object as practical men is to find a practical method of achieving some result to remove the danger to the whole position of Indians in South Africa. Feelings are deeply stirred, but it is not sufficient to relieve them by resolutions or speeches. We seek, you seek, all seek a practical solution. I therefore turn with special interest to the suggestion made by you at the end of your address. You propose that my Government should make every effort to secure from the Union Government an undertaking that no further steps will be taken relating to Indian interests until the whole Indian position has been thoroughly re-examined in a non-party spirit of tolerance by a Conference in the presence, and with the collaboration, of representatives of the Imperial and Indian Govern-

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ments, who will by their knowledge and ability possess the full confidence of the Indian people. I am not surprised, in the circumstances mentioned by you in your address, that you should concentrate upon this proposal. You will appreciate that I cannot discuss it in its full bearings in a public statement to you. The suggestion is worthy of the fullest consideration, and I assure you has already received it. I may tell you at once that my Government has been, and is, in consultation with His Majesty's Government upon this very subject, and has been, and is, doing its utmost to seek a solution of the problems before us by the means suggested by you or any other which may be presented that is likely to yield fruitful results. But I should not be candid with you if I tried to belittle the difficulties in the way of obtaining assent to such a Conference. You are well aware of them. We must do our utmost to overcome them. Negotiations in these matters must necessarily be of a delicate character ; national susceptibilities are easily aroused, not only in India but elsewhere ; the path we shall have to tread is difficult. South Africa has already full responsible self-government as a Dominion within the Empire and you are apprised of the strength of the feeling and of the agitation in South Africa upon these questions. Each Government has its own problems and embarrassments ; each Government seeks the interests of its own people : our purpose is to strive to reconcile these individual interests in the collective interests of the Empire.

You will, I think, realise from my observations that denunciation and threats can only produce injurious consequences and embarrass us with the Union Government. Indeed, the language of your address bears testimony to your views, and I take this opportunity of paying my tribute to the restrained, though none the less emphatic, manner in which you have stated your case to-day. In conclusion, gentlemen, let me assure you, if

Unveiling of the Statue of the Dowager Maharani of Gwalior on 14th February 1925.

it is still necessary, that I and my Government are wholeheartedly with you in the desire to be of assistance to the cause of the Indians in South Africa.

14th Feb.
ruary
1925.

UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF THE DOWAGER MAHARANI
OF GWALIOR ON 14TH FEBRUARY 1925.

In unveiling the Statue of the Dowager Maharani of Gwalior on the 14th February, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness and Gentlemen.—I thank you for your address and the kind welcome you have given me and I greatly appreciate the terms in which your address is couched. I thank you also for the casket in which the address is presented to me which I shall treasure as a souvenir of my visit to Gwalior on this great occasion. You refer in your observations to several matters upon which I should like to dwell. In the first place you recall my previous visits to Gwalior and the welcome given by you to me on those occasions. These are events of which, I can assure you, I carry with me the most pleasurable recollections. You allude with sentiments which do you credit to the warm interests your Ruler, His Highness the Maharaja, takes in your civic amenities and to the great debt the citizens of your Municipality owe to him for his thoughtfulness and munificence in providing a public park and institutions to serve the needs of every class and of every creed. Lastly, you touch on your own efforts in connection with the municipal affairs entrusted to your charge with becoming modesty; but through the veil of reticence, I see revealed a very lively interest and enthusiasm to discharge those responsibilities efficiently.

The special occasion of my visit is the unveiling of a Statue to the revered memory of Her Highness the late Dowager

Unveiling of the Statue of the Dowager Maharani of Gwalior on 14th February 1925.

Maharani, the mother of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia. I greatly appreciate the opportunity of taking part in this ceremony. My friendship with His Highness and my high esteem for him would in any case have endowed this ceremony with a special solemnity and interest for me ; but in addition I know from your address that this ceremony represents a heartfelt tribute from the people of Gwalior to the memory of one who was very greatly honoured and very greatly beloved in this State. It is an expression of the devotion of the subjects of the Ruler of this State to a great Lady, the mother of their present beloved Maharaja, who was for many years Regent of this State and whose official acts and personal qualities live as hallowed memories in the hearts of the people.

In the scheme of the creation , in the infinite wisdom of the Creator, women have been fashioned in a more delicate mould than men. They are constructed of a finer tissue. While some of the ruder and more forceful attributes of man are denied to them,they often share is a superabundant degree in the higher qualities. They are more swayed by the heart and have a wider sympathy than men. They have a subtler perception and a more delicate intuition and touch. They have a special power of influence and charm. These great qualities serve a high purpose in the important sphere of the home. The mission of mother, wife or daughter is to help to bring happiness to the home and to give to it as their contribution love and affection.

All these high qualities, attended in addition by an unusual degree of wisdom, were possessed by Her Highness the Dowager Maharani ; and she was called upon to exercise them not only in the sheltered sphere of her home life but in guiding the destinies of this important State. Her task was all the more difficult because the burden of discharging the great responsibilities of Regent of this State was placed upon her at

Unveiling of the Statue of the Dowager Maharani of Gwalior on 14th February 1925.

an early age and at a time when she was suffering from the shock of her domestic bereavement and had been plunged in the sorrows of widowhood.

To the manner in which she discharged those responsibilities, to the solicitude with which she brought up her son to be Ruler of this State and protected his interests and to the high example she set by the display of her virtues in her position as first lady in this State this statue given by His Highness' grateful subjects will ever remain a perpetual memorial.

Her Highness was born in the reign of Queen Victoria and belonged to the Great Victorian era ; and it is interesting to observe points of resemblance in her history with some of the events in the life of the Great Queen from whom that era takes its name. Her Highness the Dowager Maharani was called to shoulder high responsibility at an early age. She suffered the bereavement of widowhood. She brought to the administration of public affairs a strong personality, a high degree of intuition and wisdom, a fine balance of mind and a noble sense of justice. She was a woman of saintly life, of wide sympathies and large-hearted charity. She left a name which on public and private grounds is treasured as a household word in the hearts of the people. It was indeed fitting that the Dowager Maharani should have received in recognition of her eminent services to this State, the high decoration of the Crown of India from that great Queen-Empress.

Let me now proceed to perform the ceremony in which you have invited me to take part—a ceremony which is to give to the public at the headquarters of this State a statue to recall the memorable personality and great services to this State of Her Highness the late Dowager Maharani.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CONVOCATION
OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY.2nd
March
1925.

His Excellency the Viceroy, as Chancellor of the Delhi University, presided over the Convocation held on the 2nd March at Delhi and delivered the following address :—

It is a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity once more of attending the Convocation of the Delhi University. I regarded with sympathy and interest the inauguration of the University, and as its first Chancellor I have watched with special satisfaction its sound beginnings and steady progress. In lucid and eloquent words your Vice-Chancellor has laid before us to-day a record of substantial achievement during the past year, with which I am sure all those associated with the University must be well content. I am glad to think that Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi, though we have lost him from our midst in Delhi, still continues in his capacity as Pro-Chancellor to aid with his abiding interest the University he did so much to assist into being. It is a great satisfaction to me to see him by my side once more. Your Vice-Chancellor needs no words of mine to commend him. All who are associated with the University know the value of the work which he has performed from the very inception of the scheme, and I am sure all members join in congratulating this tried and enthusiastic supporter of the cause of the Delhi University on his new dignity and honour from His Majesty. I note with regret that the Revd. Canon Western, who has showed keen interest in the University and, as Rector, worked indefatigably in the preparation of the original Ordinances, Statutes and courses of study, has not found it possible to continue in his appointment on the expiration of his term of office. The new University owes him a debt of gratitude for his past labours.

From the story which the Vice-Chancellor has unfolded it is manifest that the University is developing steadily on sound lines. For the first time you have taken over the conduct of your own examinations, and I observe with pleasure that

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the results have been satisfactory. The new Faculty of Law has proved immediately successful. It has attracted many students, the teaching is good, the results encouraging, and I am indeed glad that you can point to this creditable achievement, carried through so largely by the impetus of personal enthusiasm, as evidenced by the honorary labours of the Lecturers. Proposals moreover are now under consideration for opening a Faculty of Commerce, and it is to be hoped that these may before long bear fruit. There are signs on all sides of an expansion of the functions of the University within the means at its disposal. I am glad too to hear of the miscellaneous activities to which Sir Hari Singh Gour has referred which, although not directly connected with the courses of study, nevertheless play an important part in the sum total of University life.

Reference has been made in the address to the desirability of inaugurating on a formal basis the study of the fine arts and of music. It would be premature for me to hazard an opinion as to whether the central institution to which Sir Hari Singh looks forward is likely to be established, and, if so, whether it would be located in Delhi. But whether this aspiration be fulfilled or not, it may be possible to encourage among the students of Delhi an interest in these fascinating subjects which have such an intimate bearing on the culture of the race. One of the most marked features of our famous British Universities is the wide choice of intellectual interests to which a man can apply himself outside the immediate course of his studies. This gives breadth and vision to the culture he acquires. This spirit is one which should be encouraged so that your University life may not be too specialised, too circumscribed within the boundaries of curricula and examinations. And in no direction can these miscellaneous interests be more profitably exercised than in acquiring an appreciation of the beauty of colour and form of the rhythm and cadence of sound, and gene-

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rally in obtaining an understanding of the æsthetics of India and the world.

To turn to an interest of a totally different order, I am glad to observe that the University Training Corps has met with such a gratifying response. In view of the results already attained and the hopes for further developments to which reference is made in the address, the report of the Committee on the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces, which has just been published, has a very special importance for you. The Committee hold that self-government for India implies the creation of a national army, and as a necessary preliminary to the creation of such an army they contemplate a process of education in the principles of civic duty, patriotism and self-defence, a process which would start in the schools but would find its fullest opportunity in the Universities, through the medium of the University Training Corps. They recommend that the University Training Corps should be viewed as the foundation-stone of the national army, and they urge that every encouragement should be given for the formation and development on sound lines of fresh contingents. On the subject of compulsory military training in the Universities, which Sir Hari Singh Gour advocates, I cannot do better than quote the words of the Report :—

“ In conformity with the general principle which we have previously enunciated we are of opinion that no form of *State* compulsion should be adopted in order to secure the enlistment of students in the University Training Corps ; but we should at the same time be content to leave it to the authorities of each individual University to decide whether as a matter of University discipline and regulation it should be made obligatory for their undergraduates to join the University Training Corps.”

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You will not expect me at this stage to express an opinion on these recommendations of the Committee, but it is interesting to observe how closely the ideas and principles stated in the Report of the Committee coincide with your own, and what special importance the Committee attach to this form of national education, which you are endeavouring so successfully to develop.

But amidst these evidences of healthy growth there are two patches of shadow, on which the Vice-Chancellor has dwelt. Though the University is carried on to-day in surroundings which are outwardly more appropriate to their purpose and which are a great improvement on the buildings in which you have hitherto been housed, your location is still only temporary, and it is natural that you should wish, as soon as possible, to secure for your University a permanent habitation. It is true that buildings will not make a University. It is the human element that decides the success or failure, the progress or stagnation of these institutions. Indeed, when we look at the beginnings of many of the great movements of history we realise that some of the best work has been done amidst the most unpromising material surroundings. But though we may agree with the words of the Greek historian that men, not walls, make a city, yet in the case of an educational institution the influence of buildings is great. It is not too much to say that the buildings themselves have some part in the education. They constitute the centre round which cluster the traditions which are one of the most valuable elements in a successful College or University. They embody its history and are associated with its memories and its aspirations. With an irresistible attraction they draw the old student to the scenes of his youthful ambitions and dreams. They inspire the young student with thoughts of those who have preceded him in the same halls and courts, and who have sallied forth to make their contribution to the life

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of the country. I do not therefore underrate the importance of securing for the University of Delhi if circumstances permit an appropriate, a dignified and, above all, a permanent setting.

The second shadow which crossed the discourse of the Vice-Chancellor was that which is seldom absent from any institution or individual—the shadow of finance. The Delhi University is poor, but it should be remembered that it came into being in days of retrenchment ; indeed its infant life was directly threatened by the straitened financial conditions of India as a whole. It is not surprising therefore that the Government of India have found themselves unable to make grants to the new University on a lavish scale. Even so it is proposed to increase the grant this year if the members of the Indian Legislature approve the suggestions of the Government of India. And if your circumstances are straitened you may find some comfort in the reflection that poverty in early youth frequently tends to the development of the strongest character. There is however a source of support other than Government grants to which the University can legitimately look, and I am particularly glad to see that a private benefaction is playing an important part in the proposals for the institution of the new Faculty of Commerce. I think that a healthy University should strike its roots down into the people and draw from them a full measure of sustenance. It is of course more difficult to realise this ideal in the case of a young University which still has its traditions to make, whose students have not yet gone into the world and made their mark and brought back to their *alma mater* their tribute of gratitude. Nevertheless, I hope that the importance of securing the financial support of those classes for whose benefit the University has been constituted will constantly be present to your minds.

When the Delhi University was started there were not lacking those who protested against the creation of yet another

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University, and, as I have already indicated, the axe of doom was poised over its infant neck ; but I think all of us here present will agree that the decision to maintain the University was right. It is true that education has in the scheme of the Reforms been made a Provincial subject ; and I do not for a moment deny that for the healthy growth of education full scope must be given to local experience and to local policy. But the general importance of University education to the development of the mind and character of those who will make the history of India is so great that it would be a misfortune in my judgment if the Government of India were completely divorced from all practical knowledge in connection with University problems. If the Government of India is to fulfil the functions which its name suggests, it must at least endeavour to keep touch with the developments of education in the country and to help towards the co-ordination of efforts and ideals. It may even in course of time exhibit its own conception of University education, what it should represent and whether it should lead. This may be an ideal programme. It is difficult with limited resources to make Delhi a model, as we conceive it, of an Indian University ; nevertheless, the fact that we have this living University at our doors not only enables us to make suggestions respecting University education, but also provides some practical knowledge of the difficulties and problems with which otherwise we might be but imperfectly acquainted.

I am tempted by my theme to embark on the fascinating speculation of what should be the educational aims of the country. But I must not let imagination run away with me. We shall, however, I think, all agree that it should be the aim of a University, whose very name suggests something all-embracing, to develop all sides of life. In India the side of life which has in the past been less prominent in the Universities

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is the economic side. It is true that a steady advance is being made in the teaching of technical and scientific subjects, and that, as time goes on, great advantage may be anticipated therefrom to the manufacturing industries of the country. But I sometimes wonder whether we are doing as much as is possible for what is incomparably the greatest of all industries in India—the Industry of Agriculture. It is clear that there are immense possibilities of agricultural development in a country with the natural resources of India and the time may come when our Universities may play an important part in such development particularly by rousing the interest of the landed classes and stimulating their minds to deal with problems which if they are to be solved require their active co-operation. This is a theme of speculation for the future. I am glad to see at any rate that the Delhi University is fully conscious of the importance of the economic side of Indian life, and is including it in its scheme of development.

Before I close I wish to mention one other matter of general interest which your Vice-Chancellor touched upon in his address. A University stands for the dissemination of knowledge. The importance of maintaining the highest standards of knowledge in a University cannot be exaggerated, and Sir Hari Singh Gour has made it plain that the Delhi University keeps this ideal steadily in view. A University degree in itself means nothing. Its value consists in what the University has imparted, the standard of knowledge and training it demands before it sets its own stamp and seal upon its product. Those whom it turns out must be of good, well tested metal, if the stamp of the University is to stand for anything in the estimation of the world. We all know what happens when a coinage is debased; how the value of each coin becomes progressively less and the number of coins becomes progressively more. Perhaps it is not altogether a fanciful analogy which suggests

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itself between the coinage of metal and the stamping with the University degree of the young men who go forth into the world after completing their education. The good coin will pass freely, welcomed and honoured throughout the country and even beyond its borders. The debased coin passes with difficulty even in its own country. Hitherto in India we have set and maintained a reasonable standard of University education, but I am aware that apprehensions are felt in some quarters lest the multiplication of Universities in recent times may tend towards a lowering of these standards. I know that you here in Delhi are fully conscious of the fatal consequences to the country that would arise from any serious deterioration in University standards, and that you are determined to bear your part in preventing such a catastrophe. I will mention only one sphere in which a high standard of University education has recently acquired added importance. The Government of India are, as the result of the Lee Commission Report, about to embark on large schemes of Indianisation in the most important administrative Services in the country. The success of this policy depends on an ample supply of well-trained men from the Universities of India, equipped with knowledge, with judgment and with character, and all well-wishers of the country must see to it that at this critical stage of development there is no failure in the source of supply. It is my earnest hope that the Universities of India realising the great opportunity, the great responsibility, that rests on them for the future of the country and the fulfilment of its many aspirations, will continue to devote their utmost efforts to the maintenance of the highest ideals of education. In this great endeavour the University of Delhi will, I am convinced, play a worthy part. Let it be your pride that the graduates of the Delhi University should carry with them wherever they go a reputation worthy of the historical associations and the modern activities of this Capital of the Indian Empire.

OPENING OF THE SIMLA SESSION OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

20th Au-
gust
1925.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech in opening the Simla Session of the Indian Legislature :—

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature.—After a considerable separation from you—a separation on this occasion to be measured not only in point of time, but also by distance in space—it gives me special pleasure to meet you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, once more and to welcome you to the labours of another Session. My first endeavour must be to gather up the threads of administration in India and to mention a few of the topics which have been engaging attention during my absence, or which are likely to occupy your interest in the immediate future. It is a source of gratification to me that in my absence no anxious crisis arose in India, and that the administration was carried on smoothly and efficiently under the capable guidance of His Excellency Lord Lytton.

But though the Ship of State has been sailing in calm waters, the hand of death has lain heavy in recent months on the friends of India, both English and Indian. Within the last year, and within a few months of each other, two Englishmen—Mr. Montagu and Lord Curzon—whose names will endure conspicuous in the roll of the great English statesmen who have loved India and devotedly served her—one as Secretary of State, the other as Viceroy—have passed away. They approached Indian problems not always from the same angle of vision. I had the advantage of many discussions with them before I left for India. They were of the greatest assistance in preparing me for the duties of my office. They were the last to bid me good-bye when I first set out for India. Alas ! they were both absent from the circle of friends to greet me on my return. More recently the death of two distinguished Indian political leaders—Mr. Das and Sir Surendranath Banerjea—both men of marked personality, intellectual capacity and energetic patriotism, though of different views, has left India in mourning. We have to mourn too the death of

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the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, one of the greatest of Indian Princes, a wise ruler and a true patriot whom I was proud to count among my friends. I pay also my tribute of regret for the death of two Members of the Legislature—Khan Bahadur Shams-uz-Zoha and Sir Leslie Miller.

And last I must mention the loss which has befallen me and my Government—nay more, India and the Empire—in the sudden and tragic death of the late Lord Rawlinson, one of the most eminent soldiers who have served this country in the high office of Commander-in-Chief. There is no need for me to repeat to you on this occasion the story of his military achievements ; his fame as a soldier, both in peace and war, is far extended and will long endure. But it is fitting that I should take this opportunity of commemorating the special service which Lord Rawlinson rendered to my Government, and to India, through his qualities of sympathy and breadth of outlook, and through his prudent and efficient administration of the military services of this country. Members of both Houses of the Legislature will moreover recall many occasions on which they received at his hands the most distinguished consideration. It was ever his desire to satisfy their interest in, and increase their knowledge of, the Army and army administration. It is especially true to say that in all his work as Commander-in-Chief and as Member of my Executive Council his constant aim was to secure that which he sincerely believed to be the best both for the India of the present and the India of the future. I deeply mourn the loss of a personal friend and comrade.

“ The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God.

There shall no torment touch them ”.

When Lord Rawlinson died, his successor, Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, though already designated, was not in India, and in such a situation my Government were fortunate in that they could for the time being command the services of

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General Sir Claud Jacob, of whom it is sufficient to say that his fitness to fill the breach rested upon 42 years' service in the Indian Army, the high reputation as a Commander of troops which he gained during the Great War, his still recent experience as Chief of the General Staff in India, and last but not least upon the respect and confidence in which he is deservedly held throughout the Army in India. To-day it is my privilege and pleasure to extend a cordial welcome to Sir William Birdwood who in the last few days has returned to India and assumed his high office. He is the first Commander-in-Chief in India to hold at the same time the exalted military rank of Field-Marshal, a distinction which he has earned by services to the Crown of an exceptionally high order, both in India and elsewhere. Sir William Birdwood is, however, so well and widely known as to stand in no need of further recommendation from me. I welcome him also as a colleague in my Council and wish him good fortune and good guidance in the discharge of the responsible duties upon which he has entered.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly, in pursuance of the provisions of the Government of India Act, you have been called upon, for the first time, to elect your President on the 22nd day of this month, and it is therefore fitting for me on this occasion to express my own and my Government's appreciation of the services which have been rendered, not only to the Assembly, but also to the Provincial Legislative Councils throughout India, by the first President of the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative bodies as established under the Government of India Act were so different in their composition from those set up under earlier Acts of Parliament that it was thought right to make provision for a President who should be indubitably independent of the Government, a person clear of all possible suspicion of being even unconsciously biased in favour of Government. At the same time it

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was recognised that on the standard set by the first Presidents of the different Legislative bodies, and more particularly on the standard set by the first President of the Legislative Assembly, the future of the Assembly and of the Legislative bodies in the Provinces would greatly depend. It was essential that the first President of the Assembly should be a man liberally versed not only in the written rules, but also in the unwritten tradition of the Mother of Parliaments, so that, in the time allotted to him by the statute, he might establish in this Assembly a high standard of public order, a true appreciation of the dignity and responsibilities of the Chamber, and a perfect confidence in the rigid impartiality of the Chair, and further that he might foster in every Member of the Assembly a deep sense of regard not only for the rights, but also for the feelings of every other Member of the Chamber, a sense of regard which should remain unaffected even in the extreme heat of party controversy. Gentlemen, to my great regret it has not been my privilege to attend your proceedings in person, but in addition to your printed proceedings, a daily report reaches me of your doings, and alike from these sources and from the testimony of official and non-official Members of this Assembly and also of the distinguished visitors from many parts of the world who have witnessed your proceedings, I am able to say with confidence that Sir Frederick Whyte has discharged to the utmost the very heavy responsibilities laid upon him as first President of the Legislative Assembly, and I welcome this opportunity of tendering to him my thanks and the thanks of my Government for his very notable achievement. If I may be allowed to offer advice to his successor, it is that he hold fast to the tradition which has been established for your Chamber by your first President, and to this end I ask you gentlemen of the Assembly to give to your new President in his difficult task the generous co-operation which you have always accorded to your first President.

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I pass now to a brief review of the affairs of India. I am glad to say that our relations with neighbouring States remain cordial and that no questions of importance are outstanding. I wish I could report an equal absence of controversial matter in regard to the position of Indians in South Africa. At the moment I should not be well advised to say more than that my Government is watching the situation closely and is still in communication with the Government of South Africa.

In internal affairs we have been faced recently with some industrial depression. Fortunately this has not been associated with any failure of Indian harvests, and exports have been well maintained. The depression in Indian industries appears to be a phase of a worldwide movement. Throughout the world industries are experiencing the difficulties of adjusting themselves to the new postwar conditions. India could not expect to escape. India has in fact been fortunate that this change has not come to her so quickly or so severely as in many other countries, and owing to a succession of good harvests there is a reserve of buying power in the country. Nevertheless the process of adjustment is difficult and the condition of several of these industries will come before you. Public attention has recently been directed to the great cotton mill industry which after a period of unexampled prosperity and expansion is now experiencing a reaction. My Government has been watching the position closely, and I have consented to receive a deputation early next week from the Mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad. In the circumstances I will reserve any further observations. Four reports by the Tariff Board, marked by that thoroughness which I have learned to expect from its work, have been published and the conclusions of my Government on three of them have been made public. A fifth report dealing with steel has just been received and proposals in regard to it will be placed before

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you in the course of the Session. You will also be asked to consider a Coal Grading Bill framed on the recommendations of the Coal Committee and designed to rehabilitate Indian Coal in overseas markets.

My Government, while giving due attention to industries in the restricted sense of the term, are determined, so far as circumstances permit, not to neglect the interests of what is really the greatest of all Indian industries, namely, agriculture. I know from my discussions with the Secretary of State that my Government can rely upon his most cordial support of this policy. The direct responsibility of the Government of India for agricultural development in the Provinces ceased with the inception of the Reforms. In view, however, of the paramount importance of agriculture as the basic industry of the people of India, of the improbability of Provincial Governments being in a position to undertake research on the scale required and of the necessity for co-ordinating activities in the wide field of agricultural development, the Central Government must continue to play an important part in agricultural progress. Their present agricultural policy is mainly directed to fostering research and undertaking work which is outside the normal ambit of Provincial activities by reason of its all-India character. With the improvement this year in our finances we have been able to increase very considerably our activities in the sphere of agriculture. The Agricultural Institute at Pusa is expanding its work of research, which is the basis and condition of all progress. That work has already borne remarkable fruit. New varieties of crops (I would instance sugarcane and wheat)—the product of careful research and experiment in our laboratories and experimental farms—have added within the past few years crores of rupees to the wealth of the agriculturist, and these achievements point the way to still more wonderful possibilities. Agriculture in India must in the main depend on cattle for its motive power and

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what is of vital importance is not an increase in the numerical strength of cattle but an improvement in quality. This problem is being steadily attacked from more than one angle in the cattle-breeding and dairy farms under the Government of India.

But apart from direct activities I conceive that one of the most important functions of a Central Government in respect of a great all-India interest is to facilitate the co-ordination of Provincial effort. My Government have for some time past had under consideration a proposal for the establishment of an all-India agricultural organisation which would help towards co-ordinating the activities of the various Provincial Departments of Agriculture, promote research, agricultural education, co-operation and other established aids to agriculture and serve as a medium for agricultural propaganda throughout the country. With the object of obtaining the views of representative and responsible authorities from all parts of the country before a definite scheme is formulated, it has been decided to refer this proposal to the Board of Agriculture at its next meeting, which will be held at Pusa in December of this year. It is hoped that, in addition to the regular Provincial representatives, Ministers of Agriculture of the various Provinces will also be able to attend on this important occasion.

The action taken by my Government on the report of the Civil Justice Committee presided over by Mr. Justice Rankin will be a matter of interest to you. I have no doubt that many of you have studied that report and recognise the wide extent of the ground it covers. Many of the recommendations can be put into effect by Local Governments, High Courts and the presiding officers of the courts of justice throughout the country. In some cases we have decided to reduce the proposals of the Committee to the concrete form of Bills which will come before you during this Session. In others we have

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addressed Local Governments and High Courts and shall prepare Bills for your consideration after we have received their opinions. I have mentioned before the great importance which I attach to the work of this Committee and the value of the reactions which must follow on improvements in the machinery for the administration of civil justice. I wish now to express my high appreciation of the work which has been performed by the Chairman and members of the Committee and by the co-opted members, non-official as well as official.

Last January I announced that in view of the opinion expressed in the Assembly regarding the need of an economic enquiry, my Government had decided to appoint a small Committee to report on the material which exists for holding an enquiry into the economic conditions of the people of India, the feasibility of instituting an enquiry of this character and the manner in which it could be carried out. This Committee has been at work during the last few months under the Chairmanship of Sir M. Vishveshvaraya and has just completed its report which is now in the press. It is the intention of Government to publish the report at an early date and the Committee's recommendations will be examined without delay. I must express my appreciation of the expedition with which the Committee have dealt with this complicated subject.

When I addressed you last I dwelt at some length on the difficult questions of currency and exchange and I announced the intention of Government to appoint an authoritative Committee to consider the subject of the rupee exchange as soon as world economic factors appeared sufficiently stable to justify formulation of a new policy. Since that time, although conditions are in some respects still obscure, there has been one event in this field of outstanding importance, namely, the return of England to the gold standard. With the return of sterling to a parity with gold there is fulfilled one of the most

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important conditions requisite for a fruitful re-examination of our Indian problems.

The position has been considered in consultation with the Secretary of State, and I am now able to announce that His Majesty the King has approved the appointment of a Royal Commission on Indian Currency. The terms of reference to the Commission will be—

“ To examine and report on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice ; to consider whether any modifications are desirable in the interests of India, and to make recommendations.”

It will be seen that the terms of reference are wide enough to admit the consideration of all important questions of currency policy, and that the membership of the Commission also ensures adequate representation of Indian opinion. I am glad to inform you that the Right Hon’ble Hilton Young will act as Chairman, and the following gentlemen have consented to serve as members of the Commission :—

Professor J. C. Coyajee,

Sir Manakjee Dadabhoy,

Sir Reginald Mant,

Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherji,

Sir Alexander Murray.

Mr. W. E. Preston,

Sir Henry Strakosch,

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, and

Sir Norcot Warren.

The Joint Secretaries will be Mr. Aiyar of the Indian Finance Department and Mr. Baxter of the India Office. It will be apparent that every care has been taken to obtain an independent and impartial examination of this important subject.

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The Commission will, it is expected, commence work next October.

There is one other important enquiry to which I must refer. The Government of India recently appointed a Committee which has come to be known as the Indian Sandhurst Committee. The investigations of the Committee will embrace, not only the whole subject of the best and most suitable means of training Indians to hold worthily and efficiently His Majesty's Commission, but also the question of what measures should be adopted in order to attract the best type of Indian youth, in greater numbers than are at present forthcoming, to a military career. I attach great importance to the enterprise upon which the Committee are embarking. If they are successful, it may be said that they will, to the extent of their achievement, help India forward in the path of progress. The Committee is widely representative of different branches of Indian opinion, and I am glad to note that in this important enquiry we shall have the assistance of the leader of the Swarajist Party. I must express gratification that he is prepared to contribute to the elucidation of the problems involved, but I should not think of seeking to press the implication of his action further than he himself wished. His own statement of the reasons for the course he has adopted should in my judgment preclude any more extended inferences.

The establishment of a Public Service Commission is being actively pursued in correspondence with the Secretary of State, and I have every hope that it will shortly be possible to make an announcement detailing its functions, its constitution and its *personnel*. I am aware that great importance is attributed to the Commission both by the public and the members of the Public Services. I believe that it will confirm for the Service that sense of security in the conscientious discharge of their duties to which they are justly entitled, and that it will provide

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an independent and impartial tribunal for the examination of grievances. I believe also that it will be a visible and concrete guarantee of the principle, on which all good government is founded, that the ultimate object of administration is the interest of the State and the service of the public.

Among other matters of importance with which my mind was naturally much pre-occupied at the time of my departure for England, though even then I recognised and welcomed tendencies of a happier augury, was the situation relating to the religious endowments of the Sikh community, and the various issues connected with it ; and during my absence I watched the progress of events with keen and sympathetic interest. It is a matter of great gratification to me, that, on my return, I find that the hope of improvement in the situation has been realised or is in a fair way to be realised. During the whole course of the events and controversies which have engaged public attention and sometimes, I regret to say, disturbed the public peace in the Punjab, the Government of the Punjab and my own Government have been animated by a constant and single desire, to promote by every means in our power a stable, an equitable and a friendly settlement of all the matters in issue, which shall do justice to the claims of all the interests legitimately concerned and which, in particular, shall restore the traditional relations of good understanding and mutual confidence between Government and the Sikh community. It is my belief that those relations, glorious in war and "no less renowned " in peace, whatever misunderstandings have arisen and whatever unfortunate incidents have occurred have never in truth suffered more than a partial and temporary disturbance, and I welcome every prospect of their complete renewal and consolidation.

The immediate and tangible fruit of these changed conditions has been the enactment of a measure by the Punjab Legislative

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Council, on the motion of a private member belonging to the Sikh Community, and in the formulation of which the Punjab Government rendered assistance which has been warmly acknowledged, to regulate the management of the Sikh religious endowments. This measure has received so large, and I may say, so overwhelming a preponderance of support from the interests directly or indirectly concerned as to leave no doubt of its general acceptance and it has received the assent of the Governor-General. The Government of the Punjab have taken the opportunity of the passing of this measure to make a generous offer to those persons under detention in that Province for certain offences arising out of the agitation, and I trust that wise counsels will prevail in regard to it.

I count as one of the palpable signs of a hopeful and auspicious future, the recent conclusion, with the co-operation and assistance in the necessary arrangements of the authorities of the Nabha State, of the ceremonial reading of the Sikh scriptures at the Ganssar Gurdwara in that State. The policy scrupulously observed by Government has been to interpose no obstacle, there or elsewhere, to the free observance of religious ceremonies in such manner as not to conflict with other well established rights and liberties. I will say no more on a subject which might revive old controversies than that I have every hope and confidence that, with the conclusion of the ceremony I have referred to and the release of persons detained in the Nabha State, we may all now unite to treat this incident as a closed chapter.

A bill will be laid before you in the course of the present Session, the object of which is to validate such of the provisions of the Punjab Act as are beyond the competence of the local Legislature, and I am confident that a measure which offers so fair a prospect of a practical and equitable settlement of a momentous and complex issue and which is supported by

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so weighty a body of public opinion will receive also your ratification and endorsement.

Much has been achieved, and we may survey with legitimate satisfaction the progress recorded, rendering due acknowledgments to the sympathetic consideration and the indefatigable labours of His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey and the Government of the Punjab, and to the common-sense, mutual forbearance and public spirit of all concerned which have made it possible. I trust that your deliberations will complete a legislative act which will not only afford a just and satisfactory solution of the matters it expressly contemplates, but will also contribute powerfully to the re-union and reconciliation of diverse aims in other spheres of interests which we all have equally at heart. If we persevere and redouble our efforts in the path of mutual forbearance and understanding, I have every confidence that the future will crown our labours.

This concludes my observations on a review of affairs in India as I find them on my return. My main purpose in requesting your attendance to-day was in order that I may address you specially upon the events connected with my visit to England. When I received the invitation from His Majesty's Government to return to England, I gladly availed myself of it. I had been in India over four years and had seen several changes of Government in England during this short period. A General Election in the Autumn had just installed a new government in office—the fifth with which I have had the privilege of serving. It seemed to me eminently desirable in the interests of India, that I should take the opportunity for the first time afforded to one holding my high office. During my stay in England I had many conferences and discussions with the Secretary of State, and I also had the great advantage of representing the situation in India, as I conceived it, to the

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Prime Minister and also to the Cabinet. Towards the end of my visit the Secretary of State made an important pronouncement in the House of Lords upon Indian affairs. The speech undoubtedly aroused unusual interest in Parliament and the country. It was the first review by the Secretary of State of the general situation in India since he had assumed his high office, and it had been deferred until after the conclusion of the conferences with me. In addition, it possessed a special attraction by reason of the forceful personality and intellectual capacity of the Secretary of State. You will have observed that His Lordship was careful to state that he was not announcing, or purporting to announce, decisions or conclusions. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that his survey of the situation formed an important event in the history of political development in India. It was made after careful study of the problems and after full consideration of the views which I had presented in numerous conferences as the result of my experience in India. The speech in the House of Lords was followed almost immediately by a debate in the House of Commons. I do not know whether many of you have had the opportunity of studying the report of the debate, which was of special interest to India. It showed, as it appeared to me, a growing appreciation and a sympathetic understanding of the complexities and difficulties of Indian political problems. You will have gathered from the Parliamentary reports that the general lines of the pronouncement were not seriously challenged in the British Parliament. I confess that I have therefore been somewhat disappointed, on a perusal of reported speeches of political leaders in India and of articles in the Public Press, to find that the speech has been received in some quarters in so critical a spirit. The impression on my mind is that its importance and value to India have not been sufficiently appreciated. I look upon the Secretary of State's address as a message of sympathetic encouragement to India,

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at least to those who are desirous of advancing to responsible self-government within the British Empire. It is an emphatic indication that political opinion in England stands firm upon the declarations made in 1917 and in 1919 without distinction of political parties.

I shall endeavour to place before you a survey of the situation as it presents itself to me to-day. I trust I am not too optimistic in my belief that a temperate examination of the problems in an atmosphere free from suspicion and prejudice may lead to more earnest and sincere co-operation and good-will from Indian politicians. I cannot hope to convince all sections of those who take an interest in public affairs. But if we are to advance towards a solution of our problems, we must get rid of the elements of bitterness and suspicion, which breed their evil progeny alas ! too rapidly, and try whether the spirit of good-will may not prove a solvent for difficulties which have hitherto seemed to defy solution.

I would ask those who may differ from me to bend their minds for a moment towards me, and to weigh observations based upon the experience of a life-time and applied to Indian affairs by one who claims to be devoted to India and her interests.

I came to India charged with the duty of helping to establish the Reformed Constitution and of assisting the country along the road of advance mapped out in the declaration of August 1917. The first great measure in pursuance of the new policy had been embodied in an Act of Parliament. It was unfortunate that this new system was launched at a period when the atmosphere was charged with bitterness and animosity. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the difficulties it encountered from the moment of its birth. They are still fresh in our minds. It suffices for the moment to recall that it met with determined opposition from certain sections of the

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community, directed at first from without the Councils and latterly also from within. Remember that this was a newly fashioned Constitution—indeed a constitutional experiment without precedent—designed to meet the peculiar complexities of the situation in India. It had no doubt its imperfections, but it was the product of deep thought and the outcome of a genuine desire on the part of the British Parliament to give effect to the patriotic aspirations of Indian political leaders and to initiate a system of self-governing institutions. Much of the criticism directed against the Constitution was clearly in the nature of a protest against the refusal to grant complete self-government at one step. But the ranks of the critics were also swelled by those who argued that the system did not fulfil the intentions of its authors and suffered from obvious defects which should be removed. These charges deserved examination and after three years' experience of the new Constitution my Government, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, decided that enquiry should be made not with a view to altering the structure but for the purpose of determining whether any measures could be devised whereby the system might work more smoothly and efficiently. These problems were examined by the Reforms Enquiry Committee, to whose labours both my Government and all those who are interested in the working of the Constitution owe a debt of gratitude. I regret that the members of the Committee were unable to come to unanimous conclusions. The Majority have made a series of recommendations which taken broadly appear to be acknowledged as suggesting improvements on the existing practice. They are fashioned with a genuine desire to improve the present machinery. I do not of course claim for them infallibility or deny that they must be examined in detail with some care. My Government are prepared to accept in substance the view of the Majority that the Constitution should be maintained and amended where necessary

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in order to remove defects in its working on the lines recommended by them. My Government cannot at present commit itself to all individual recommendations or to the form or method by which they should be carried into effect, inasmuch as there has not been sufficient time for full consideration of them with the authorities concerned, or even by me with my Council. An opportunity will be afforded to the Legislature for debating this policy and every consideration will be given to the views presented to us before final conclusions are reached.

The Minority, consisting of gentlemen whose views are entitled to receive, and have received, the most careful examination of myself and my Government and—let me add—of Lord Birkenhead, have stated that they have no objection to many of the proposals of their colleagues, but they were unable to accept the report of the Majority because they desired to progress more rapidly and by different methods. In their opinion no substantial results will be produced by the process of amendment of defects recommended by the Majority. Briefly, the Minority ask whether the Constitution should not be put on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress in the future, and they are in favour of a system of Provincial autonomy. They press for an early enquiry with a view to fulfilling these aspirations. To the subject of Provincial autonomy I shall return later. It is sufficient to say at this stage that the Minority, mindful of the terms of reference, do not present it as a practical and fully considered scheme, but content themselves with putting it forward as an ideal. The steps for its attainment clearly demand further investigation. In effect therefore the recommendations of the Minority amount to a demand for an early and authoritative enquiry with a view to a revision of the Constitution. The issue at the moment between them and the Government of India is largely one of time for the appointment of a Commission. It has been laid down in the Government of India Act that

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in 1929, that is in four years from the present time, there must be a full enquiry into the Constitution such as the Minority desire. But the Minority say that they wish the enquiry to take place at an early date. I understand their impatience, but my Government and I, after most carefully weighing their views, have reached the conclusion that the moment for an enquiry has not yet arrived.

The enquiry contemplated by the Act will be a genuine and an impartial enquiry. Nothing will be prejudged. It will proceed upon the facts of the situation as ascertained upon the evidence produced to the tribunal. And here I must remind you of the words of the preamble to the Government of India Act, which have already been quoted by the Secretary of State : "And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." If those are to be the principles to guide the Commission to its judgment, I cannot think, as a friend of India, that it should commence its enquiries immediately. If the judgment of the British Parliament were to be pronounced upon the present evidence, I fear that it could but result in disappointment. I have not abandoned hope that as the days proceed evidence of a spirit of co-operation may yet be forthcoming from that large section of political opinion which has hitherto stood aloof, and that it may be manifested that the political attitude of those who have hitherto declined to shoulder any responsibility may undergo a change. I know that there is a school of thought in India which preaches incessantly that nothing is to be won from England save by force or threats. Believe me, that is a profound mistake, and if persisted in, cannot but embitter the relations of the two countries. The Reforms took their origin in England in a spirit of good-will, not of fear, of optimism, not of opportunism. The history of the

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last few years has damped the hopes and dimmed the expectations of many of those in England who wish India well. But those hopes can be rekindled, those expectations can be re-created if India shows the hand of friendship instead of menace.

But while I am sure that the present would be a most inappropriate moment to hold the statutory enquiry, I wish to re-emphasise what was made abundantly plain by the Secretary of State in his speech that there is no special sanctity attaching to the year 1929. The re-examination of the Constitution may take place at any time, not later than 1929, when the British Government are persuaded that there has been genuine co-operation of the responsible Indian political leaders in working the existing Constitution, and when sufficient experience of these new and still largely untried conditions has been gathered to form the basis of a considered judgment and to enable proposals for the future to be made with some confidence. Is it not worth while to make a real attempt to wipe out past controversies and to unite in an effort to test the system at present established ? In the Secretary of State's words—" We desire and request good-will, nor shall we be niggardly bargainers if we meet with that generous friendship which is near and dear to our hearts." The desire to help India along the road indicated remains unchanged throughout General Elections and new Administrations. I had opportunities of discussion with many leaders of political thought in England of varied political views. Throughout I was impressed on the one hand by the sympathetic good-will manifested towards India and Indians generally, and on the other, by the determination not to be hurried by threats into premature concessions. I have long been confident that it is through friendly co-operation alone that India will advance to the ultimate goal desired. The events of the recent years and my visit to England have served to confirm this view. I most earnestly commend it as a policy to the Legislature and to the country.

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I believe that the present moment is specially favourable for a combined effort to work the Constitution. Since the Committee reported, two new factors have supervened which should be an encouragement to a new departure, and are well worthy of your consideration. Among the many handicaps under which the new system has suffered, none perhaps was greater than the financial stringency which dogged its early years. In administration a policy without resources is barren. Too often the Ministers found that from lack of money they could not give effect to their ideas in the field of government transferred to their charge. Hampered by financial difficulties they were exposed to the criticism of having achieved nothing. Fortunately, the period of financial stringency, the legacy of the War, seems to be passing away. This year my Government has been able to make a notable beginning in the remission of Provincial contributions, and thereby to place at the disposal of various Provinces additional resources, a large part of which it may be hoped will be available for the amelioration of social conditions and for nation-building activities—in short for those branches of the administration which have been transferred to popular control. I trust that these new resources will strengthen the position of Ministers.

There is one other change of importance which I must not omit to mention. I confess I have been surprised to find that so little public attention has been directed to one of the proposals of the Lee Commission, the practical effect of which will soon begin to make itself felt. It had been one of the complaints of Ministers that the organisation of their superior services through which their departments were administered lay not in their hands, but in those of the Secretary of State. It was the latter who recruited them, and who determined their rates of pay and their numbers. We are now taking steps to give effect in this respect to the principle laid down by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, that Ministers should have the fullest

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opportunity of managing that field of government which was entrusted to their care. Recruitment by the Secretary of State for the Indian Educational Service, the Indian Agricultural Service, the Indian Veterinary Service, the Buildings and Roads Branch of the Indian Service of Engineers and in Bombay and Burma for the Indian Forest Service has ceased. In these important branches of the administration the Ministers will be authorised to start building up by new recruitment their own Provincial Services, subject only to such restrictions as experience shows to be necessary for safeguarding the integrity, the independence and the efficiency of Public Services. The problem presented by the Indian Medical Service is more difficult, but here too the principle of establishing Provincial Medical Services has been accepted, subject to certain conditions which are still under consideration. The combined effect of these changes will become increasingly apparent every year, and I am sure that what seems to me at present to be an inadequate appreciation of their importance will rapidly disappear. I cannot pass from these observations on the future of the Services without placing on record my high appreciation of the loyal assistance which has been rendered by the members of the Services and will, I am convinced, continue to be rendered in the working of the new Constitution. Without their help, difficulties already serious enough would have been stupendous, if not insuperable.

For the reasons indicated above, I believe that the system of Dyarchy will be found to work in future more efficiently and smoothly, and Ministers will in these respects no longer have the semblance of ground for complaint that the power and responsibility entrusted to them are impaired by other influences. In any event, I have no doubt it is too early yet to pronounce a final verdict as to failure or success. On a careful survey of the whole situation and study of the reports of the Local Governments I come to the conclusion that dyarchy,

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whatever its deficiencies may be, has so far proved more successful in its operations than some of its friends and most of its critics could have expected. We shall be in a far better position and in a comparatively short time to form a final judgment, if the system is worked in the future with general good-will and co-operation.

In a notable passage in his speech Lord Birkenhead disclaimed on behalf of the British Parliament any monopoly in the art of framing Constitutions and he invited Indians to contribute, if they could do so, their own solution. He invited them—to quote his words—"to produce a Constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India". He gave the assurance that such a contribution to our problems would nowhere be resented, but would on the contrary be most carefully examined by the Government of India, by himself and by the Commission whenever that body may be assembled. The time which may elapse before re-examination of the Constitution, whenever that may happen, could not be better occupied by public men in India than by devoting serious practical thought to these problems. The British people, working on their own experience, have set up institutions in India based on Western models. The aspirations of Indian politicians, as I understand them, are directed towards the establishment of responsible self-government within the Empire as the ultimate goal. Responsible self-government based on Parliamentary institutions is the product of Western thought and experience. It is often contended that we are seeking to arrive at the final destination by imposing ideas on India which are alien to its genius. We are not wedded to our own particular methods of attaining our object. Whatever may be proposed will be the subject of most careful examination by the Government of India, and eventually by the Commission before it is submitted to the British Parliament. The Commis-

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sion should know whether there is any general consensus of opinion among the various classes and communities of India as to the direction in which the development of self-government within the Empire should be sought. Should we persevere in our proposed course or is there an alternative line of advance which would be more in accordance with Indian ideas and would receive the support of the numerous interests concerned ? If any alternative methods are to be suggested, much hard thinking is required. Constitutional problems are not solved by a phrase. Account must be taken of unparalleled complexities—diversities of race, diversities of religion, striking diversities of intellectual development and a social organisation which separates classes with a rigidity unknown in any other great country. It must be kept steadily in mind that it is a primary duty of Government to provide security against external aggression and to preserve peace and order within its territories, and in India it is imperative that adequate means should be devised for the protection of Minorities. No greater problem in self-government has ever been set before a people. No problem has ever more assuredly required accurate and practical thinking.

There are many in India at the present moment who hold the solution lies in Provincial autonomy. The principle that local affairs should be administered by Local Governments is one that commands general acceptance. But if we are to avoid disintegration—a danger that the history of India constantly emphasises—there must, in my judgment, be a strong Central Government capable of exercising a legitimate degree of supervision and control. The relations of such a Government to a number of so-called autonomous Provincial Governments have not yet been thought out. It can scarcely be contemplated even by the most ardent friends of Provincial autonomy that there should be nine or more, and as some contend many more, separate and independent Provincial Governments

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entirely free in all directions from supervision and control. Before any scheme of Provincial autonomy could be established, the functions that should be entrusted to them and the degree of supervision and control to be exercised over them must be explored with patience. Here is an unlimited field of work waiting for those who, like the Minority of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, believe that the present Constitution must be radically amended. Meantime close contact with the practical working of the present machine will provide a useful corrective against too great an obsession with theory, which history shows to be a danger ever lurking in wait for the drafter of Constitutions.

Before I close I would draw attention to an attitude not uncommon among politicians that the programme and conditions of advance laid down in the preamble of the Government of India Act are a humiliation to India in that the prescription of successive stages and the testing of each stage by results is a reflection on the capacity of Indians. Be it remembered that we are engaged on a problem new to India and new also to the British Parliament. I think the nature of the problem as it presents itself to the British people is not fully appreciated by those who express themselves as humiliated. They assume that the path to self-government lies along a broad metalled road, and that if they could only be freed from the impediments and restrictions imposed by the present form of government, they could run safely, rapidly and directly to their goal. To my mind the problem presents itself under a different figure. I think rather of a man picking his way through unexplored regions towards his destination which glimmers faint, but clear in the distance. He halts on firm ground and seeks the next spot to which he can safely entrust himself. A rash step may engulf him or delay his progress indefinitely. His advance may not be rapid, but it is well and surely planned. As he advances, experience teaches him to distinguish more certainly and quickly

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the firm ground from the treacherous surface. And so he wins to his ultimate goal.

Gentlemen, if I may strike a personal note, the natural term of my period of office is rapidly approaching, and my future opportunities of addressing you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, must necessarily be few. I have spoken to you to-day from the conviction of my heart—I trust without rousing a tinge of bitterness or animosity. I have expressed to you the thoughts of one who, whatever mistakes or errors he may have committed, has a warm affection for India and a deep devotion to her interests. For these reasons I have been desirous of carrying you with me along the only avenue which, in my judgment, can lead to the Promised Land—to the proud heights of India's destination. It is my earnest prayer that India, with the co-operation of all of us—of every race, community and interest—that wish her well, may avoid the pitfalls that beset her path and win through to the goal to which her face is set.

JOINT DEPUTATION FROM THE BOMBAY AND AHMEDABAD MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

In reply to the address from the joint Deputation from the Bombay and Ahmedabad Millowners' Associations, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. Wadia and Gentlemen, when the Millowners' Associations of Bombay and Ahmedabad asked me to receive a deputation, I assented very willingly. It is always a pleasure to me to come into contact with the leading business men of India, and I particularly welcome the opportunity of meeting the representatives of your Associations. For I am well aware that the textile industries of these two centres, after passing through a period of unexampled prosperity, are now in the trough of a wave of depression.

24th Aug-
ust
1925.

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My Government has been kept in the closest possible touch with the position. I notice that you complain that you have received no reply beyond a bare acknowledgment of your memorial of March 17th last. Gentlemen, I have made inquiry and in the result I cannot find legitimate ground for this complaint. You are aware that the subject-matter of that memorial was fully discussed in the Legislature in connection with the Budget of the current year, and that as soon as the session was over Sir Charles Innes proceeded to Bombay and met the Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association. At that meeting alternative other suggestions for the relief of the industry—admittedly they were of a very tentative character—arose. These suggestions have been examined. The Commerce Department of my Government has made a very close study of the causes of the present depression in your industry and of the suggestions made in April. I understand that the results of that examination were communicated to the Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association in June last; and in the beginning of July Mr. Chadwick went to Bombay to meet the Committee. Sir Basil Blackett joined in the discussions, and we have also been in correspondence with the Government of Bombay. I mention these facts because I want you to realise that I and my Government do take a deep interest in what is one of the greatest and certainly is the most typical Indian industry in India. Indeed, we have watched recent developments with great concern. Yesterday, I received by letter representations from the All-India Trade Union and Bombay Textile Workers organisations setting out their view of the proposed reduction in wages and of the existing depression in the industry and of the causes of the present crisis, which will require careful examination. They also, are vitally interested in the prosperity of the industry and the measures taken to relieve it. I am quite sure that you took the step of announcing a reduction of wages with great reluc-

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tance and only after satisfying yourselves that it was absolutely necessary. But I feel as I am sure you do also—deep sympathy with those whose slender means of subsistence are being cut down, and I cannot but admire the spirit in which so far they have received what at best must be to them a painful necessity.

I turn now to your address, and first, gentlemen, I should like to thank you for the moderation with which you have expressed yourselves on a matter which affects you closely and on which I know you feel deeply. But you may rest assured, Gentlemen, that your case has lost none of its force because it has been stated in temperate language. It is true that there are statements in your address which I might be tempted to take up. I am tempted for instance to make some observations on the theoretical justification for excise duties of which indeed we have had a very recent example in England. But I have decided that it would serve no useful purpose. The Government of India are pledged to abolish the Excise Duty as soon as financial considerations permitted. We stand by the letter and spirit of that pledge. The excise duty must go, and I do not propose at this stage to occupy time by discussing whether or not it can be theoretically justified.

As the result of my inquiries and the information supplied to me, I propose to make a very brief survey of the textile industry both in this country and elsewhere. It is a subject to which, as I have told you, we have devoted considerable study recently in the Government of India; but I cannot hope to tell you anything that you do not know already, although it is possible we may shed new light upon some aspects of the situation. You are of course aware that throughout the world the textile industry is experiencing difficulties. I need not remind you that both the English and American industries have been compelled to adopt short time, and from Japan there come loud complaints of the rising cost of living which sooner

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or later must affect rates of wages. There must be some general cause at work, and I have no doubt myself, gentlemen, that that cause is to be found in the fact that the price of cloth is still out of relation to the prices of other commodities. Take Bombay for example. I find from the Labour Gazette that the index number for the locally made cloths that are in common use among the labouring classes in Bombay was 198 in June last as compared with 100 in July 1914. The index number for food grains on the other hand was only 130. Thus the cost of cloth is still very high and the principal cause is the high price of raw cotton. The American cotton crop still dominates the world. From 1919-20 to 1923-24 the American crop except in one year was consistently short. At the same time there was a steady growth in the number of spindles in the world and the demand for cotton far exceeded the supply. Last year it is true that there was a good crop, but it was not sufficient to make up for the shortage of the previous years and the price of cotton still remains very high. Much depends on the prospects of this year's crop in America. A fair crop seems assured and there is a possibility of a really good crop. If this possibility becomes a fact, then I hope, gentlemen, that the end of one of your main troubles is in sight. A reduction in your costs of production will mean a lower level of prices for cloth and with the price of cloth reduced, the demand for cloth in India will revive.

But apart from this general cause, you have your own particular problem in India. A gradual change has come over the Indian Mill industry. Formerly it was predominantly a spinning industry. Now it is predominantly a weaving industry. During the war and in the post-war period when imports were largely cut off and the price of cloth was very high, the Indian Mills installed more and more looms. The result has been a great increase in the production of cloth. I think I am correct in saying that in the years immediately preceding the war the

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Indian mills produced on an average rather less than 1,200 million yards of cloth a year. In 1924-25 they produced just under 2,000 million yards. Exports have increased but not in the same proportion. The result is that you are now placing in the Indian market some 700 million yards of cloth more than you did in the pre-war years. In other words, the effect of the war and the post-war years was greatly to stimulate the production of cloth in India. Now imports though they are still far below the pre-war level, are beginning to revive, and I find that last year the total amount of cloth offered for sale in India, inclusive of the estimated production of the handlooms, was very nearly up to the pre-war level. To be exact, our calculations show that before the war, mill production, handloom production and imports amounted to about 4,900 million yards. Last year the corresponding figure was nearly 4,500 million yards. Gentlemen, on a conservative estimate the price of cloth is twice as high as it was before the war, yet the Indian market is now being asked to absorb at twice the price very nearly the same quantity of cloth. The Indian mills hold a much greater proportion of this market than they did before the war, and I think you will find in the facts I have given you the explanation of those increasing stocks which are such an embarrassment to you.

Gentlemen, I turn to remedies. I do not propose to refer to the suggestions which arose in April, namely, that an export duty should be imposed on raw cotton or alternatively that the import duties on the lower counts of yarn and the coarser qualities of cloth should be enhanced. These suggestions were fully examined in the letter to which I have already referred and to which so far no reply has been received. I will pass on at once therefore to your principal request, namely, that the excise duty should at once be taken off. You tell me that the excise duty represents about 9 pies in the cost of a pound of cloth, and I have already indicated my opinion that the costs of production must be

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brought down before the textile industry can be brought back to a healthy and stable condition. I recognise therefore the force of your appeal. I do not think nor unless I am much mistaken do you claim—that the abolition of the cotton excise duty is all that is necessary to restore the industry to health. But your plea is that even a reduction of 9 pies per pound in the cost of production will give some relief to the industry. As I have said, I recognise the strength of this plea, and I and my Government have again considered most carefully whether we could not meet you in this matter. It is with real regret that I have to inform you that we have come reluctantly to the conclusion that we cannot grant the request. I hardly think indeed that you have realised what the request means. You ask us to take action now in the middle of the financial year before the year has fully declared itself and before the commitments and the prospects of next year are fully known. You suggest that at a time of this uncertainty the Government should remit a source of revenue which brings us in Rs. 2 crores. It is only in the most exceptional circumstances—exceptional to a degree which it is difficult to envisage—that a Government would be justified in adopting such a course. The time for taking stock of prospects is the time of the preparation of the Budget. Then and then only can a proper estimate be made of future prospects of revenue and charges. This decision indicates no lack of sympathy with the industry, no want of will to help in its difficulties and no lack of desire to see the removal of the excise duty. As you have been told again, we are pledged to take that excise duty off, and we will take it off as soon as financial considerations permit. The decision merely illustrates that prudence which it is incumbent on every Government to exercise in relation to its finances. I am afraid that this decision will be a great disappointment to you. But whatever your immediate feelings of disappointment may be, I feel sure that on reflection you will realise that our decision represents

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the only course which any Government would be bound to take in similar circumstances on the present request.

You next refer to the question of the competition from Japan and you suggest that measures ought at once to be taken to place anti-dumping legislation on the Statute book. Well, gentlemen, we have examined most carefully this question of competition from Japan. It is certainly growing, though I am bound to say that I think that it is affecting imports from England more than the Indian mills. I am quite willing to believe, however, that the prices at which Japanese goods are being sold depress the prices which you can get for your own cloth, and I confess that I am impressed by what you tell me about the conditions of factory labour in Japan. But you make a definite charge that Japanese goods are being dumped into India and our difficulty always has been that you have never been able to substantiate this charge by definite facts and figures. You will remember that Mr. Chadwick suggested that these definite facts and figures should be collected when he saw you in Bombay, but so far there has been no response. If you can now supply the necessary evidence, I will undertake to have the question you have raised examined as rapidly as possible. I understand, Mr. Wadia, that you have come armed with the required information, and I suggest that you should utilise the opportunity afforded by your visit to Simla to place that information before the Commerce Department. You will understand, gentlemen, that that is as far as I can go at present. The question of anti-dumping legislation raises wide issues of the most different kind. These issues will require the most careful consideration, and I can only say that immediately the facts are presented I will have the case examined with the utmost possible rapidity.

I have now, gentlemen, dealt with the two principal requests in your address. I have been considering, however, whether there are other directions in which my Government could assist you. One comparatively small matter I may men-

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tion is that I have already ordered the tariff valuations for the current year to be revised in view of the fall in prices of piece-goods. The new valuations will be brought into force without any avoidable delay. It has also occurred to me that it would be of advantage if the Government ordered the Tariff Board to enquire into the condition of the mill industry in India for the purpose of determining whether it is in need of protection, and if so, what modifications are required in our tariff duties whether on imports generally or on imports from particular countries. You will understand of course that it would be no part of the Tariff Board's duties to report whether or not the cotton excise duty should be continued. I repeat that that duty will be taken off as soon as financial considerations permit. I have not yet myself come to a decision regarding the suggested inquiry by the Tariff Board. In the meantime I should like to have your considered opinion on this suggestion.

I am sorry it has not been possible for my Government to accede to your request to abolish the excise duty immediately ; but I hope that the reply that I have given will show you that we take the greatest possible interest in the condition of your industry and that we have endeavoured to keep in the closest possible touch with what has been going on. You may rest assured that we shall continue to keep a careful watch on the situation which must remain a matter of the closest concern to me and my Government and, as you are so well aware, to the Governor and to the Government of Bombay.

MR. WADIA.

On behalf of the two Associations I rise to tender again our thanks to your Excellency for receiving us. The decision you have given us, has, as you say sir, disappointed us very greatly. We will have to consider seriously now what

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steps we shall have to take when we return to Bombay, but it will mean further hardships for our workers and that will be a serious cause of grief to us. But, Sir, there is one correction I would like to make and that is in reference to one point in Your Excellency's speech. There are two alternative proposals, which Your Excellency said, were made by the Bombay Millowners' Association for relief. Those are not made by the Bombay Millowners' Association but were tentative proposals made to us by responsible persons. As regards labour, we shall see they come to some arrangement about short time hours ; we cannot continue to go on as we are. The position is grave, graver than you, Sir, in Simla recognise, although we have put it temperately before you to-day. We asked for justice ; we are sorry we are not getting it. The position has, as I say, and as Your Excellency rightly acknowledged, is telling both on Lancashire and on us—more so on Lancashire than on us. When I proceed to England next month I shall consider it my duty to see the Manchester Chamber of Commerce as well as the Labour Unions and the Labour Federations, and to put before them the grave crisis through which we are running and they are running, and will have to take joint steps to approach Your Excellency again. It is only when we and Lancashire unite that, I am afraid, Your Excellency will give us some relief. We are disappointed at your reply and we are going back with our hearts down. I thank Your Excellency again on behalf of the Associations for your courteous reply.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

Mr. Wadia, I confess I am not surprised at what you say that you are disappointed, but I think on reflection you will find that to ask us to take off the excise duty at this moment when we do not know what the result of the year is going to

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be, is to ask us what is practically an impossibility. That is the view we have been forced to arrive at and that is the conclusion which we have been compelled to announce to you.

With regard to the correction which you, Mr. Wadia, make I was speaking on information given to me, and after all we need not waste a word about it : it does not matter where it came from. If you dislike the words that the suggestion was made by the Bombay Millowners' Association I will take them out and will leave it merely as a suggestion.

There is nothing further that I can say at the moment, but I would really like to know your considered answer, as I pointed out, to the suggestion which I have made to you of an enquiry for the purpose of determining whether protection is required as also the form and what modifications would be required in the tariff duties. I do not ask you to give it to me at once. It is a matter upon which you can reply within a short time. It does occur to us that it is well worth consideration ; but you must tell us what you think and whether it is of any use to you.

On the dumping question, it is difficult to say any more as that has to be examined.

One further observation I must make. Mr. Wadia said at the end of his address that disappointment was pressing upon him seriously—not unnaturally—and that it is only when he can approach us from Lancashire and also from Bombay, as their relative interests are affected, that he will get anything like justice. I am sorry that observation was made. I do not think it does justice to the position that the Government of India has taken in the matter ; neither does it do justice to the desire that we have to meet what was put before us the desire to help India. It must be remembered that we are the custodians of the finances of India and that when it comes to a question of giving up a part of the revenue of

Farewell Dinner to Sir Frederick Whyte.

India which has already been budgetted for we are in a difficult position : we cannot really do it, as I have explained to you, in the middle of the year when we do not as yet know what the position is. The whole question is as to the time when the Government of India will be able to redeem their pledge. I refuse even to discuss the question of the excise duty which has been raised by Mr. Wadia because I regard it as a matter outside Lancashire, outside every consideration except the financial consideration of India. The pledge was mad ; we are bound by the pledge, we stand by the pledge, we are most anxious to carry it out, and for myself, I would be very glad if it came in my time, as the Finance Member said within his time when it could be taken off. But it cannot be taken off at this moment, but only when financial considerations permit and of course those are the considerations that we have to consider.

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR FREDERICK WHYTE.

His Excellency the Viceroy gave a Farewell Dinner to Sir Frederick Whyte at Viceregal Lodge, Simla on the 4th September, and in proposing his health said :—

4th Sep-
tember
1925.

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*We are met tonight for the purpose of doing honour to our guests—Sir Frederick and Lady Whyte. I have been watching him during the whole of dinner, I have observed of what he has partaken and I have thought, during the time, this is a man of splendid constitution ! I recall the numbers of ceremonies, addresses, banquets, smaller dinners, garden parties and other functions which he has recently attended, and I wonder that it should be vouchsafed to one man to support such a burden ! However, I come to the conclusion that one who has supported the responsibilities of the First President of the Legislative Assembly would be equal to all occasions. As I remembered the various

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repasts I scanned him, and I was agreeably surprised to find that neither the contour of his body nor that of his head had increased ! From one's experience of life one generally finds that on occasions of this character it is the head that suffers first ; but not in the case of Sir Frederick Whyte, and of that I was sure from my knowledge of him. He is one of those men who, while accepting with pardonable pride these demonstrations of appreciation, has yet, I am certain,—although I have not conversed with him upon the subject—said to himself again and again with a modesty which is characteristic of him and is one of his charms—have I in truth merited all that is said about me ? I have a doubt. But Lady Whyte has none ! I am quite sure that in this case, as in many others, all sensible men will be on the side of the lady !

I have already expressed more formally in another place my appreciation of the achievements of Sir Frederick Whyte during his occupancy of his distinguished position ; and in speaking of him to-night, I should seek to avoid further praise of him ! Yet we are aware that he has just left the Chair and that to our regret he is about to leave India. This sounds like an obituary notice, but it is not. I neither come to praise Caesar nor—thank God !—to bury him ! My purpose to-night is to say enough to give us all the opportunity of listening to Sir Frederick after we have soothed our own feelings by toasting the health, prosperity and happiness of Sir Frederick and Lady Whyte.

When I set out for India and thought of the small number of friends in India whom I had gathered to me in England, I counted Sir Frederick Whyte among them. We had sat together in the House of Commons. He was but a youth—my impression is that he was about 26 years of age. I was just about to enter the Government ; but before that we exchanged confidences on the Bench where we sat behind the Government

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and listened to the pearls of wisdom that fell from the Leader of the House and others, and sometimes—in the ardour of Party controversies then proceeding—we indulged in some private criticism of our leaders. I wonder whether this happens in India! But all these confidences disappeared from the moment I joined the Government, and what Sir Frederick then had to say I have never learnt. During that time—as happens in assemblies such as the House of Commons and the Legislature here—men come to know each other, not only when on the same side but also when on opposite sides. Far be it from me to recall any personal instance, but there are sometimes developments that are astonishing. During the controversy, perhaps during the rancour of heated debate, you may have credited a man with various evil motives or, at least, if you are charitably inclined, not credited him with the best of motives!—suddenly you discover by some sudden transition that he is a man like you, with the same instincts and the same passions and the same idealistic purpose, although you may fundamentally differ in political views and in the form and method of expressing them. Parliament is a great school, and Sir Frederick came with the traditions from England—from the birthplace of Parliaments, from the great home of Parliament with centuries of tradition behind it! He arrived carrying within him the seed to implant here in India; he has sowed his seed well. He has been, I think, largely assisted by the innate courtesy and dignity, characteristic of Indians. But above all, the achievement was due to his purity of purpose, to his strict impartiality, to his jealousy of the position of the Assembly, to his care for its reputation not only in India but in England and wherever the new birth of Parliaments was being watched. He sat in his chair imbued with the traditions of the English Parliament, anxious that he should do his best to instil the same rules, conventions and traditions into India and the Indian Parliament.

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He has succeeded very well indeed, and I am not indisposed to think that it is not only due to the corporate spirit of the House but also to the capacity he possesses—a rare capacity. For to the art of knowing the right thing to do, he adds perhaps the more delicate art of performing it without offending the susceptibilities of those who may be affected by his ruling. Therefore, I think that as the years pass and the Assembly grows in power, and when it has risen to its full stature the historian of the day will chronicle the events of Parliament when first started in India, the name of Sir Frederick Whyte will stand forth in golden letters as the founder of the tradition upon which the Legislative Assembly has been built, as he to whom India will turn with pride!

Most men in public life are at times inclined to wonder what will be said of them when they have gone. It is not exactly a pleasant subject of thought, but it is a natural one; and I congratulate Sir Frederick, for when he leaves India he will know with certainty that in his great position he has received appreciation from all, that he has justly merited it and that he has erected a monument more durable than marble, bronze or even brass; he has founded a tradition which will help to make the Indian Parliament of the future. This tradition passes now to the trust and custody of Mr. Patel, whom I cordially welcome here to day, both in his capacity as President of the Legislative Assembly and in that of my guest. I feel sure that in the progress of time it will be found that he has carried out his intention as stated by him and that the tradition is in safe keeping. When in due course it has to be handed to a successor, he should be able to point to himself as the Second President, the first Indian President, who equally strove to maintain the traditions of the Assembly to uphold its dignity and was jealous of its reputation and determined that it should hold its own with any Parliament.

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But I have strayed from my resolved purpose. I did not intend to say much about Sir Frederick Whyte as President, but I was tempted and I fell. It is a solitary place at times, and here I extend the hand of fellowship and sympathy to Sir Frederick, who perhaps will recognise that sometimes mine also is a rather solitary post. It must be solitary when sitting in the Chair; you cannot turn and exchange a joke with your fellow members or criticise, which is so much more pleasant, some observation that has fallen either from the Leader of the House or from some Member of the Executive Council or, perhaps it may be, but with due respect, even from the Chair itself! Hence it is that Sir Frederick found it necessary to turn to some lighter pursuits, to some relaxation from this austere occupation of daily life. So going naturally from one extreme to the other he turned immediately to playing on the Stage. You will not be surprised to know that he has made a success of that as of other things. It also occurs to me—I do not know whether I am right because I have not been here quite long enough since my return from England to have had that which an ex-Judge naturally regards as the best evidence, that is, ocular demonstration—that he has even become a good dancer! But I do know that in all these lighter occupations he has managed to endear himself to all those with whom he came in contact.

I now pass again to more serious pursuits. Sir Frederick has, to my own personal knowledge, done yeoman's work as Chairman of the Red Cross Society and of the St. John Ambulance Association. In the Leprosy Appeal, of which he has charge he has laboured to the utmost of his ability to make it a success, and I am grateful to him and can assure him that I shall miss his wise counsel in a connection with these affairs.

But let me not forget—I was in danger of it just at this moment!—what recalled it to me I am not quite sure, except perhaps a gance at Lady Whyte—was he not for a time among all

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these activities Chairman of the National Baby Week, where he did admirable work and assisted those concerned with making this movement a success : in really making it, as I believe it will be, in the future, an annual and a National Institution ? When I recall the arts and graces he possesses, I am tempted to think that it must have been due to his early association with France. Some how or other, in one's reading of history and of memoirs one has frequently found that the tendency of the Scotch was to associate themselves for a time at least with the French. If you have any doubt about it, well, look on this picture ! observe Sir Frederick Whyte as the result of time spent in France and think of his accent when discoursing to you in French and, perhaps delivering a lecture upon some learned subject in that language !

I now turn to what I think must be regarded as the crowning grace of Sir Frederick Whyte. It is to his presence in India that we owe that of the gracious lady who sits by me. I sometimes think, with some knowledge of both of them, that perhaps she had a share in his decision to come to India. As you are aware men take their decisions by themselves ; they never consult women ! except in private and then the men dare not refuse to take the advice although its excellence is not always publicly acknowledged when it has proved right. But she has been, as we know, a true comrade to him, and therefore I shall ask you to remember not only Sir Fredrick Whyte but also Lady Whyte, who has added much to our social amenities and has contributed valuable assistance also to various charitable objects and institutions ; to remember that together they are a rare combination—too often, alas ! (I hope I am not giving away secrets) you like perhaps the husband and don't like the wife and *vice versa*. It does not too frequently occur that you like both the husband and the wife ; generally as a man you prefer the wife because she is a woman ! Therefore, I now ask you to join with me in wishing heartily,

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earnestly and sincerely to Sir Frederick and Lady Whyte, when they leave India, that they may be followed by prosperity wherever they go, and whatever the future has in store for them (and that I will not attempt to prophesy). One and all we wish them now health, prosperity and all happiness.

The following was Sir Fredrick Whyte's reply :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The terms in which His Excellency has proposed the toast of this evening do not make it any the easier for me, as you will all realise, to respond as I ought. When I left Marseilles early in January 1921, I did not then know, though I did my best to find out who was to be Viceroy of India. But shortly after leaving Marseilles we received a wireless message to say that it was to be His Excellency ; and as His Excellency has been good enough to refer to those days in which I sat on a very very back bench in the House of Commons, and he sat on the Front Bench, I should like to say to him at once that nothing gave me more pleasure in the prospect of an unknown—and what I think I must call a delicate—undertaking than the assurance that whatever work I was able to do in India was to be done under the aegis of His Excellency Lord Reading.

I am not going to reveal to you, ladies and gentlemen, what I may have said in those days, to which he referred, after His Excellency left the back benches and took his seat on the coveted Front Bench, for a back-bencher is apt to be an irreverent person ; but I wish now, if I may do so in appropriate terms, to offer him my most sincere gratitude for his unfailing support of the Chair and for his sustained interest in all the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. It was a matter of peculiar comfort and support to me to know that the Chief to whom I was responsible was not only one of the most distinguished figures in the public life of England, and

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a great practitioner of the parliamentary art, but also one who appreciated the little-known business of Parliamentary procedure. If I find it somewhat difficult, ladies and gentlemen, to convey to His Excellency all that I feel for his unfailing interest in our work in the Legislative Assembly it is only because the manner in which he has proposed, what I hope I may call, the combined toasts of this evening has, as you will realise, somewhat robbed me of appropriate expression. I wish on behalf of my wife and myself to thank His Excellency most warmly and sincerely for the extreme generosity which he has shown us not only in the manner of his speech this evening but all through our career of five years in India.

Your Excellency, we have it on the best authority, that no man may serve two masters. I claim to be a happy exception to that rule. I have had the singular good fortune of being able, in different capacities, to serve two masters—not because of any qualities which I myself possess, but because those two masters so contrived to deliver their instructions that they were not only compatible but complementary. It may be that there was some collusion between them: indeed it were surprising if it were otherwise. So, in accepting service, for certain ends, under Her Excellency, I could always claim that I thereby did no violence to my allegiance to the other master. Therefore I wish, if I may—and I am sure His Excellency will allow me—to include Her Excellency in my very sincere tribute of admiration and gratitude.

I owe a debt not only to Your Excellency but also to Your Excellency's Government. There have been times—I don't know in what terms they may have been reported to you, Sir! but there have been times in the Legislative Assembly when the course adopted by the Chair—I hope I may say in all good conscience—was not exactly welcome to the Members of Your

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Excellency's Government! Indeed, if I may, I would refer to one incident very early in the career of the First President of the Legislative Assembly—a precedent which I observe my Hon'ble Colleague the Second President has already adopted. One of the secrets of success in the Chair is that early in its career it should place itself squarely across the path of the Home Member! I did so once by inadvertance—not across the path of the present Home Member, nor I think I may claim across the path of His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, but across the path of Sir William Vincent; and I found that, though for some time a certain amount of heat was generated by the collusion, thereafter the Home Member and the Chair learnt a very adequate respect for one another; and, if rumour reports truly, I understand that my Hon'ble Colleague Mr. President Patel, has been not unobservant of that precedent!

Your Excellency, you have referred, in terms which I cannot claim myself, to the work of the Legislative Assembly. A Parliamentary body cannot perform its task except by the co-operation of all those who are part of it, and if the Chair in some measure has a peculiar responsibility which does not belong to any one else, the ultimate credit for whatever achievements may stand to the account either of the First Legislative Assembly or of the Second belongs in a greater measure to each individual member, and to all members of it, than to the Chair itself. I take particular pleasure, Sir, in confessing to-night that the establishment of Parliamentary traditions in the Legislative Assembly during the past five years has been more due to the consciousness of the greatness of these traditions shown by all my colleagues in both Legislative Assemblies than it has been on my part.

There have been moments, Sir,—and here I think I may claim your personal sympathy—when the Chair has felt somewhat like a Novice in the Order of the Trappist Monks, when he would have given anything to be allowed to break his vow

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of silence, when a particular turn in debate seemed to provoke him to speech and when he had to recollect that having taken a vow of silence as part of the tradition and practice of his office, he must necessarily impose upon himself a severe self-denial.

You, Sir, in your speech to-night have offered me a reward for the work of the last five years. I have already taken the opportunity to tell the Legislative Assembly that the work of the Chair in the interest of the task itself and in the pleasure of co-operating with members in all quarters of the House, has been its own reward. The reward of my Indian service has been not only in that co-operation, not only in the interest of the task of presiding, great as that interest has been and great as the pride that I have had in it has been, but also in the opportunity which my office has given me of visiting nearly all parts of India, of witnessing the moving and many-coloured panorama of Indian life, of seeing the great personalities and the political parties of India appearing on, and disappearing from the public stage in great variety and sometimes almost in bewildering profusion. But the greatest reward of all, which my wife and I have had during these five years in India, is the making of new friendships, with Indians and Europeans alike—friendships which will always run like a thread of gold through the memory of our time in India.

Your Excellency has added to the reward to-night a tribute which was due in full measure to my wife, but which I feel I can hardly claim for myself—a tribute both in speech and in the beautiful insignia of the Order of the Star of India. If I may confess it, I feel that there must be many who have given their lives and their service to this country who are far more nearly entitled to such a recognition of public service as a Knight Commandership of the Star of India. But since I know, Sir, that you must have recommended His Majesty the King-Emperor to confer on me this magnificent honour,

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I feel that for that as for many other things, other forms of hospitality, other acts of kindness too numerous to mention, I owe Your Excellency a very deep personal debt.

May I therefore in closing say that if I have been unable to find the appropriate words in which to express to His Excellency the Viceroy and to Her Excellency the Countess of Reading the gratitude which my wife and I feel for their great kindness to us during these past five years, it is not because I am unwilling to find the words but because the circumstances of the moment rob me of the ability. Your Excellencies, in the name of my wife and for myself, I thank you most heartily.

CLOSING OF THE FINAL SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech in closing the final session of the Council of State on the 17th September 1925 at Simla.

17th Sept-
ember
1925.

Gentlemen of the Council of State.—As you will have surmised, my purpose in summoning you to-day is to bid farewell to you, who by to-day's proceedings are bringing the final Session of this Council to a conclusion. You came into existence shortly before I arrived. I have had the opportunity of meeting most of you on many occasions both public and social. I have made the acquaintance of nearly every member, and this acquaintance has led in various cases to a more intimate relationship, even to friendship. I bid you farewell with regret. As is inevitable the coming elections must bring some changes in the composition of your body. Whether these are many or few, I do not doubt that the record of this, the first Council of State, will bear honourable comparison with any of its successors and will endure as an example and a lesson in the sober and temperate exercise of the wide powers entrusted to it by the Constitution.

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It is interesting to pause and recall some of the developments connected with the birth of this Chamber. Those of you who have followed the fortunes of the Government of India Act, 1919, from the time of the introduction of the Bill in the House of Commons, will remember that as originally planned the Council of State was intended to be a body in which the Government of India would be assured of a majority, for under its constitution the Council of State was to consist of the Governor-General and 56 Members, of whom as many as 28 might be officials. Had this conception prevailed, it would have enabled me to have taken part in the deliberations of this House instead of having to summon you when I wished to address you. But the Joint Committee on the Bill revised this proposal and, to use their language, "re-constituted the Council as a true Second Chamber". This point was also emphasised by His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, in his speech on the inauguration of the Indian Legislature, in the following passage :—

"In the Council of State it has been the intention of Parliament to create a true Senate, a body of elder statesmen endowed with mature knowledge, experience of the world and the consequent sobriety of judgment. Its functions will be to exercise a revising but not an over-riding influence for caution and moderation, and to review and adjust the acts of the larger Chamber."

Your numbers are 60, of whom 33 are elected, and of the nominated members not more than 20 may be officials. Of those nominated members, one, the representative of Berar, is for all practical purposes an elected member and the number of officials has been reduced as low as 17. I cite these facts for the purpose of showing that as the discussions on the form of the new constitution developed, it was decided that the Government of India should surrender its majority and trust

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the Council of State, and further that after the constitution of the Council of State was finally settled by Parliament, the Governor-General advanced again on the path of trust by refraining from nominating the full number of officials allowed by the Act and nominating non-officials in their place.

It has been a source of great gratification to myself as Governor-General, in whom the right of nomination is vested, and to my Government that this policy of trust has been amply justified. At the same time it should be observed that the nominated non-officials have not sacrificed their opinions to their position. The division lists of this Council furnish an abiding record that the nominated non-officials have not hesitated to vote against Government at the dictates of their reason or their conscience. On the other hand, they have not shrunk from shouldering the burden of temporary unpopularity, which too often is incurred by those who, undisturbed by waves of passion and prejudice, have applied a calm and sober judgment and have voted with Government when they were convinced that the higher interests of the country required it, when they were satisfied that these interests were being faithfully served by Government. The nominated non-official members have, in fact, exercised their functions with the same sense of independence and responsibility as the elected members of the Chamber, and I can therefore, in what I am about to say regarding the work of the Council of State as a whole, deal with all the non-official members of this Council as forming one body of men with firm principles and broad outlook, keenly alive to the responsibilities of their position as Members of a Second Chamber in which they command an overwhelming majority.

I am well aware of the wide field of the interests you represent. I see here what I may almost call the hereditary element represented by the great Zemindars, I see the leaders of the learned professions and I see men who have climbed the steep

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ladders which lead to success in the regions of commerce and industry. I am grateful to you, Gentlemen, who have given liberally your valuable time, and who have made personal sacrifices to this end, and I am grateful to those great commercial concerns which have allowed their members to attend this Council. To no small number of you also I have to render thanks on behalf of my Government for services ungrudgingly rendered on Commissions and Committees of the utmost importance. I must include in these expressions of thanks not only those who are at present members, but also those who by reason of other duties, or because of ill-health, have been precluded from retaining their seats in the Council. I also include those who have been removed by the hand of death, whose memories are cherished by their families and friends and colleagues.

So far I have referred only to non-official members and for obvious reasons; but I should indeed be failing if I do not pause to pay my tribute of admiration and gratitude to the official members of this Chamber, who have throughout striven ardently and persistently to ensure success for the Reforms and have given their valuable assistance in the deliberations of this Chamber.

It has been a matter of great regret to me that in the comparatively short space of less than five years circumstances have compelled me to appoint no less than three Presidents. My only justification for taking away so quickly that which I had given was the interests of the Public Service of India. You will admit, I am sure, that on each occasion I have sought to give again of the best that was available for my selection. To Sir Alexander Muddiman, your First President, we owe much, for he occupied the Chair for a sufficiently long time to carry the Council well on its way, and to establish for it a worthy tradition of dignity and courtesy and no less a record

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of high efficiency. He will be remembered as the first President of this new Chamber who set an example which others will assuredly be glad to follow. To find a suitable successor to fill his place was a difficult task, and I had no alternative but to give you one of the Secretaries of the Government of India. Hardly had I had time to congratulate myself on the success of Sir Montagu Butler as President of this Council when he became Governor of the Central Provinces, and again with much regret and searching of heart I did what I could to make amends to you by surrendering yet another of the trusted Secretaries of Government—Sir Henry Moncrieff-Smith, who now presides over your deliberations with the serenity and distinction fully expected by all who had become familiar with his capacities and with his efforts since the inception of the Reforms. Alas! that there must be so many farewells! The Leader of Your House, Sir Narasimha Sarma, has more than completed his term of office and will soon be leaving you and, to our great regret, me and my colleagues in the Executive Council. We shall miss him very much, not only at our meetings but generally in the work carried on by the Executive Government. No Viceroy ever had a more loyal, honest and independent-minded colleague who, whilst never forgetting his obligations as a Member of the Council, always remained true to his duty to his Indian compatriots, and faithfully presented their views in a manner that not only commanded great respect, but also deserved and received the closest attention. He is a genuine Indian patriot and a true servant of the Empire, with a broad outlook on human affairs aided by a zeal for research in the dusty pages of blue books and the keen and fearless judgment of a man whose paramount desire is to advance the interests of India and the Empire.

In dealing with the measures that have come before it this council has shown alike qualities of fearlessness and sobriety. Whilst you have been loth to interfere with

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measures which did not involve any vital principle, you have not hesitated to reject measures which in your calm and considered judgment and according to your conscience threatened the foundations of good Government and would not truly serve the best interest of India. The need for the exercise of your powers for either of these reasons has fortunately been infrequent. The functions of a Second Chamber have already been indicated in the quotation I made from the speech of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. There should be no tendency to vexatious interference with the proceedings of the other House, and yet the Second Chamber must not shrink from exercising the powers entrusted to it when matters of vital interest are at stake. In other respects it may often be able to make suggestions which may be recognised by the other Chamber as improvements. You have performed these difficult functions with a due sense of responsibility and have brought your judgment to bear upon the problems that confronted you with the sole desire to serve your country to the best of your ability.

The Indian Legislature as constituted by the Government of India Act consists of the Governor-General, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. Looking back on the history of the Indian Legislature during the past four and a half years, it is to be recorded that there has been a large measure of agreement achieved between the component bodies —a result as creditable to the one Chamber as to the other. Differences there no doubt have been; often they concerned practical measures which were being discussed on their merits and these have usually been found capable of adjustment. It is mainly on questions of finance and of the Constitution that the Chambers have found themselves in disagreement. I shall not dwell on the differences relating to finance which in the opinion of many competent observers rather presented a vehicle for the expression of political views than revealed any

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fundamental divergence of opinion on questions of revenue and expenditure.

You have within the last few days given expression to the opinions you hold regarding the Constitutional problem. When I addressed you in conjunction with the other Chamber at the opening of this Session I strove to make plain what were in my view and, be it observed, also in that of the Secretary of State, the necessary conditions for an advance. I shall not to-day repeat the arguments or enter into controversial discussion. The Resolution proposed by the Government and accepted by this Chamber will, in accordance with the statements made to this effect, be duly considered by my Government together with the amendment carried by the Legislative Assembly. The conclusions of the Indian Legislature must be considered as a whole, attributing due weight to that part which proceeds from the Council of State and, I believe, represents no inconsiderable proportion of the intelligent and stable elements in the country. Whilst I do not intend further to discuss the Constitutional question with you to-day, I desire to express my satisfaction that from the reports to me of your debates you have rightly interpreted the observations I made regarding my earnest desire for the development of a spirit of friendly co-operation and good-will. My object, as you have understood, was not merely to emphasise that this was the quickest and the surest way of obtaining the appointment of a Royal Commission earlier than 1929, but also—and of even greater importance—of creating a more favourable atmosphere for the holding of this momentous enquiry whenever it may take place.

In times of special difficulty, as times of transition must necessarily be, you have rendered a high service to your country by fulfilling to the best of your judgment the responsible rôle assigned to you by the Constitution. You have dealt with the

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important affairs which have come before you according to your conscience and in a spirit of good sense and moderation. As I understand your views, you stand for progress and the political advancement of India as rapidly as can be achieved with due regard to the dictates of prudence and wisdom and the special conditions appertaining to India. It is upon these broad-based foundations that you desire to construct the road to advance and to erect the superstructure destined to crown the efforts for the greater contentment and happiness of the Indian people. In the knowledge that you have throughout acted in full accordance with these ideals and have been animated by a lofty sense of duty and a steadfast determination to advance the interests of India I regretfully bid you farewell and cordially wish you all happiness.

25th September
1925.

ANNUAL PRIZE-GIVING AT BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL, SIMLA.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the Annual Prize-giving of Bishop Cotton School, Simla, on the 25th September and delivered the following address :—

Your Excellencies, Mr. O'Neill, Ladies and Gentlemen.—At the present moment the uppermost feeling in my mind is one of regret that I was not one of the boys to get a prize, to receive it amidst the applause of my fellow-pupils at school and to leave with the consciousness that it had been awarded to me without favour and as a result of my own merit. I am afraid I am long past the time when anything of the kind can happen to me. As you get on in life, and particularly as the years crowd upon you, you find that you are generally called upon to do the least ornamental part. Her Excellency has enjoyed the satisfaction of receiving a bouquet and of presenting prizes to the boys, shaking hands and congratulating them, whilst I have sat here quietly. Therefore, it is really Her Excellency who ought to be returning thanks, but I am called upon to do the work.

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Well, I am glad to be here to-day, to have had the pleasure for the second time of seeing the school and the boys and especially of hearing the report which you, Mr. O'Neill, have presented to-day. I am very much struck by it and I think all those who have taken part in the work of the school especially the Headmaster have reason to be proud of the progress made and they must all feel considerable satisfaction. You have reached, as I understand from the report, a record number of boys in the school—225. That is a tribute to the school, to its founder and to the Headmaster and all those who are associated with him in carrying on this great educational work. I congratulate him and them upon the results. It must always be of interest to those who take part in the education of boys to follow their careers in later life. I am afraid all boys do not remember their schools, but there are some who do. The boy who takes pride in his school, who glories in its achievements and feels that he has added, however little, to the laurels which have been won by the school, is already well on his way to success. With you, Headmaster, I can well understand that boys go from here, as you have told us, sometimes at the ages of 14 or 15 and travel home to continue their education in the various training and technical colleges, perhaps in the Universities, and, may I add, later in the greatest University of all, that is the world of human affairs. I trust that you will receive good records of them in the future, and that those who have left you here and have distinguished themselves will make their mark in the world, and that you will have the opportunity of hearing from them and knowing of them.

I was also very much interested to hear that a new block has been opened for the eight Rajput Chiefs, who will now take their part in the life of the school. I agree with what you said Mr. O'Neill. It is an excellent thing that they should take their education with other boys, and in that way both European

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and Indian boys should grow up together, learning to appreciate each other's qualities. I am rather inclined to think that when you get amongst boys, who are very often pretty shrewd judges of each other, questions of racial distinction and of communities disappear very quickly, particularly when a boy is found to be a good steady, honourable, plucky boy. My experience of boys in my own school was that it was not always (I say this with apologies to you, Headmaster) the boy who was the greatest favourite with the Headmaster or perhaps some of the other masters, who was most liked by the rest of the boys. But I am sure that in the end the judgment of the other boys may be almost as good as that of the Headmaster.

The traditions of an English Public School are, as you have told us, carried on here, as was the aim of its founder. He was educated at Westminster, he was Assistant Master at Rugby under Dr. Arnold and he was the first Headmaster at Marlborough. With such a knowledge of what the traditions of English Public School life can achieve, he founded this institution, and I am very glad to find that it has been carried on after these traditions and that it is doing such credit to his foresight and also to his wisdom in having instituted and founded it. This Episcopal educationalist, if he were here now and had heard the record of the school as given to us by you, Mr. O'Neill, would have felt that his tree was blossoming and bearing fruit and that he could look forward to continuance for a very long time. You have remarked—and it seemed to me with great wisdom—that the great object of the school and of education, if properly understood, is not confined to getting boys to pass examinations or even to taking the first places in their schools. I was glad to note—if you will permit me to say it—that in your ideas of school life and of the achievements that should be sought, you pay as much attention to the development of character as you do to the attainment of great places in the schools here and elsewhere in India. It has been said—

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and with great truth—that “character is higher than intellect.” However desirable it is to have brains, to use them to their best advantage, to have them properly trained, yet in the great battle of life character means more and as you said the boy who may have first-class brains and no character is not likely to succeed, whereas the boy with perhaps second-class brains but real character is much more likely to achieve results in the world. When we speak of education usually we only have in mind what has been learnt from books. Far be it from me in the slightest degree to deprecate study; on the contrary I believe to the utmost in its value. Whatever character, whatever qualities of mind, whatever force of personality a boy may have, he will never be hindered by the assistance that he may have got from his learning; he can only be assisted, can only be helped forward in the march and in the end he will find that what he learnt in his early days has helped him to achieve whatever the heights may be to which he may attain. I rejoice, Mr. O'Neill, that you have taken this balanced view of education and expressed it so well in the observations you made to us. Honour, fearlessness and calm judgment are the attainments which boys may hope to reach as a result of their studies here together with all further accomplishments with which they may be endowed when they leave.

Now, Mr. O'Neill, whilst wishing the greatest success to this school and rejoicing that I am able to be present here with Her Excellency on this occasion, I am thinking at the moment very deeply, trying to read behind the foreheads of the boys whom I see massed at the end of the room, what it is that they are waiting for me to say? Of course it is right that I should observe—lest you should mistake that applause as given in recognition of the address which was delivered by the Headmaster and which I have attempted also to follow—that they have no other thought in mind, as studious, thoughtful boys than the wish to devote every moment of their time to the acquirement

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of that knowledge which we have been telling them is so valuable, yet somewhere at the back of those youthful minds (it would not take a magician to guess) there is an idea that there might be a little more play to celebrate the occasion. I have therefore been wondering and saying to myself what is it I am to ask for? I am still thinking about it; I have not reached a decision. But nevertheless, I have come to the conclusion that the right thing is to ask for a holiday and, inasmuch as this is what I may call a double occasion—Her Excellency has accompanied me, and as she is the better part of our establishment—if there is a holiday to be given for my being here, certainly there must be a holiday for Her Excellency also. But I really regret that the humble request I am making to the Headmaster is received with so much expression of regret and sorrow. Having done all I can and made use of Her Excellency's presence, it strikes me that there is an addition to be made. It is not every day you get the Viceroy and Her Excellency and His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab here. I am hoping—I cannot say more—that all three of them are of equal merit and that being so, it seems to me more seemly (I am afraid that I am making great demands upon you) that for each of us, in order that there should be no invidious distinctions and to show that there is real equality between man and woman and between Sir Malcolm and ourselves, there ought to be a holiday for each one of us. Therefore I lay my petition at your feet, Mr. Headmaster, and ask if you will be good enough, in celebration of this occasion, to give the three days' holiday to the school. I observe that this request is received with much more acclamation by the boys than so far as I can distinguish among the parents, who, when they get the boys home have to get very busy looking after them. But the boys think, I am sure, that it is a most excellent dispensation that you should announce, as I hope you will before I leave, that there will be this three days' holiday.

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I do not think that I could do better at this moment than pause in the hope that my request will be granted, and express my pleasure to you, Mr. O'Neill, at having been present and assuring you also that I shall carry away with me to-day the impression of good and useful work done—useful to the individual, useful to the community and to the country at large, and above all, a credit and a glory to the Bishop Cotton School.

FAREWELL DINNER TO THE HON'BLE SIR NARASIMHA
SARMA.29th Sep-
tember
1925.

His Excellency the Viceroy gave a Farewell Dinner to the Hon'ble Sir Narasimha Sarma at Viceregal Lodge on the 29th September, and in proposing his health said :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.—As I rose this morning, I scanned rather hastily in the course of dressing my day's programme of engagements, and I considered some of the various problems that would engage my attention during the day. As I came to the end I saw that the last item was the pleasurable one of meeting you all here this evening assembled to pay a tribute of high esteem and admiration to Sir Narasimha Sarma. With pleasure I realised that this would give me an opportunity of once more expressing my views of Sir Narasimha. But swiftly came the regret that it meant marking a departure, a completion of office and severance of the intimate ties that bind my colleagues and myself together. And I searched for consolation, however temporary and inadequate, with the thought that this evening, we must not be melancholy. Then I recalled that Sir Narasimha will still be with us for a little while and I hope, as do all my colleagues, that we shall continue to see him on various occasions.

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It is sad in life that pleasure and pain are so closely associated and often so interwoven that it is difficult to disentangle the emotions ; but any man who has his emotions properly under control must recognise that on the present occasion we should dwell upon the pleasurable side and not upon the regret—the deep regret—of myself and my colleagues and all those who have been associated with him in administration that we are so soon to lose Sir Narasimha. He will have completed a period of some five years and four months—a longer period than falls to most men who served on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Throughout that time Sir Narasimha has been of the most valuable assistance to us all. I myself desire especially to record my appreciation of the help that he has given to me. I remember my first meeting with him upon my arrival in India to assume my office. Of course I had heard of him, I had read of him, I had talked of him, and when I first met him I noticed that quietly and unobtrusively under his eyelids he was fixing a keen searching gaze on me—so concentrated that he seemed almost to be tearing through the flesh on my bones—revealing to him my innermost soul. As time progressed however, and I got to know him better, I regretted that I had not had the opportunity of recommending him for appointment to his post but I was grateful that he was here when I arrived ; and as the years proceeded in our close association, as the days passed, as meeting after meeting of Council took place, as he came to see me week after week, as he unfolded problems he desired to place before me, I learnt more fully to appreciate his merit, to value his independence of judgment, sometimes even the ruggedness of his expression and—may I confess it to you in the privacy of this room—sometimes in Council—if I may disclose a secret—there has been a kind of subterranean rumble. Through it all he has been distinguished by the independence of view to which I have referred, by his fearless honesty of purpose, his fair judgment,

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his courage in expounding his opinions even if he was in a minority of one—never understanding why the other Members of the Council were such an obstinate lot—and always, from first to last, manifesting a deep devotion to the interests of Indians and to the cause of India and of the Empire. For myself, as I am sure he will recognise, I have always been glad to listen to his arguments. I feel sure that when he is no longer present I shall turn to the chair from which I was accustomed to hear his voice (although he will not be there, there will be the spirit of Narasimha hovering around) and I shall ask “What do you say Sir Narasimha”? It is not only for myself I speak; I know from long experience of my colleagues that they are with me in appreciation of the valuable help he has given in the Government of India. I know also that this appreciation is not confined to members of Council; those who have been associated with him in the various Departments he has adorned are, I am aware, desirous of being included in this tribute.

Sir Narasimha began his career, as many distinguished persons in public life in India and elsewhere, as a member of that very modest and retiring profession—the legal; from that he has attained to the post of Member of Council and of Law Member, which must be a legitimate ambition of a lawyer in this country, to Leader of the Council of State and to Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council. When he lays down his office I can assure him in all sincerity that he will be accompanied by the heartiest good wishes of all who have been associated with him and the earnest desire that he may pass the rest of his life—which we trust may be long—in happiness and in good health. We trust that he may sometimes recall the days with us and, if any doubts cross his mind as to the value of his contributions to the good Government of India that he will—modest as he is—allow

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himself to recall the appreciation which we all cherish of his efforts and achievements.

But I must not be too serious upon this occasion : there are lighter aspects of Sir Narasimha, in the closer, more intimate and more personal companionship with him. As I rode out this morning in the cool, clear atmosphere of Simla at the end of September, and as usual gazed around fascinated, captivated and always mystified by the beauties of Simla, by the variety of light and colour upon the flowers, the trees, the hills and the snow mountains of the Himalayas—seeming almost in the early morning as if they were there to support the glorious, radiant blue canopy above—I again delighted in the joys, revelled in them ; then I saw approaching me a well-known figure. I thought here is one who with me enjoys every moment out in the cool morning air of Simla, and deplores that so few find occasion to share it. I am accustomed to see Sir Narasimha in the early morning, walking usually by himself, solemn and serious as I descry him in the distance, yet with a happy humourous smile lighting his countenance as he approaches and looks up to me (I am above on a horse) and we exchange ‘good morning’ salutations, each of us with a light in the eye which says—we two are reaping the harvest of this delightful morning ! I have found, by various mysterious methods that appertain to the Viceroy’s sources of information, that Sir Narasimha not only enjoys the early mornings, but here he has the advantage over me, also the early evenings. It has not been vouchsafed to me to see the picture, but I understand that he may be seen walking in the evening, the only difference between the night and the morning being that which betokens the wise, shrewd man with his eye on the future, it is that he is followed by a rickshaw ! But we have another bond in common in his love of flowers, which delights all who have the good fortune to be invited to “Pet. rhof.” It was already a glorious

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bouquet of flowers in the days of his predecessor, when Sir Malcolm and Lady Hailey lived there. Sir Narasimha came along and he said "I also like flowers" and you need only walk there in the morning (I am sure he will be delighted to see you in the morning because he is not there) and to see his wonderful salvias and dahlias and all the joyous beauties of form and colour there massed together. But that is not all ; he has manifested a geniality of temperament and a love of hospitality which have endeared him to all who have been fortunate enough to know him. In addition, he has the saving grace of a sense of proportion combined with a sense of humour, which enables him to withstand the Parthian darts of some newspaper critics who are always wondering why he does not boldly come forth and narrate to the public of India the happenings in the Councils and the views he there expressed on controversial problems. Of course they little realise, or seem to forget, that Sir Narasimha, like all the Members of the Viceroy's Council, is bound by a solemn oath ; and they little know Sir Narasimha if they think that he would in the slightest degree depart from the strict obligation thus imposed upon him. I do know him and I know that the secrets of my Council have always been absolutely safe with him, and with all Members, and that the obligation imposed upon them is truly and faithfully discharged, notwithstanding the temptations and the invitations, the cajoleries and sometimes even the abuse ; the solidarity of Government could never be maintained otherwise. Those who imagine they could hustle him or divert him from his path are greatly mistaken.

As I watched him proceeding quietly on his way this morning the picture presented itself to me of an incident in my early youth which had always remained with me, I recalled a visit to Switzerland when I was comparatively a youth with two young companions. We started to climb a mountain--not one

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which called for ropes and axes—but one that required many hours of good, solid, hard climbing. We three boys started up the hill, full of spirits, and with the arrogance of youth looked almost with pity upon an old Swiss gentleman who had started a little before us, but whom we quickly overtook! As we travelled past him we were talking, laughing, full of fun, turning back occasionally to glance at this old gentleman who was still attempting (he must have been about 35 years of age!), steadily, quietly, determinedly to attain the summit. After about an hour we discovered to our surprise and annoyance that this elderly gentleman was gaining upon us. We naturally increased our pace, but still on he came, nothing could resist him, and quietly determinedly doggedly he gained upon us and passed us and eventually reached the summit long in advance of us! And when we arrived very much exhausted we found him perfectly fresh and having consumed nearly all the food at the little inn at the top. The incident with its wealth of teaching is my picture of Sir Narasimha, with one exception for as I know him, he would never have sat down to his meal until we had arrived so that he could all share and enjoy it. The quiet onward march of the man who knows whither he means to go and how to get there impressed me, and in this picture I found Sir Narasimha as I understand him.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you all assembled here to join with me in wishing Sir Narasimha a long life with health and happiness to enjoy it. In the future he may recall the days when the toil was hard and the responsibility was great and the anxieties were severe, when there was a strong bond of comradeship between us when we laboured together, as we believe, in the interests of India, and when he contributed no small share of whatever may have been achieved during that time for the good government of India.

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The Hon'tle Sir Narasimha Sarma in reply said :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

All of us must have realised in our daily practical lives the truth of many a trite and commonplace saying, but never have I realised more fully than I do now, standing before you to respond to a toast proposed in such eloquent, generous and affectionate terms by His Excellency and drunk with cordial good-will by you all, the truth of the saying that "when the heart is full the tongue refuses to speak". The magnificent, charming eloquence of His Excellency, to which you have always been accustomed, has had on this particular occasion a peculiar charm over my senses, for it has transported them temporarily to another world. It is always so, especially when a man is made to feel that after all there is something in him, when his vanity is flattered by being told that he is of some importance in the economy of nature, that he is somebody; and therefore it is difficult to find expression to thank His Excellency and you sufficiently for this manifestation of good-will and affection, and for this magnificent banquet to which all of us have been treated in token of the regard for me to which His Excellency has given expression.

Numerous have been the acts of kindness which I have received during the last four and a half years at the hands of Their Excellencies. Every one of us knows them, there is none that has not experienced numerous acts of kindness at Their Excellencies' hands, but no one I think has experienced—to my knowledge—more acts of kindness from them than myself. I remember how repeatedly Her Excellency has taken very kindly care of me and made me realise that after all minorities have a protecting angel presiding over this house, that a vegetarian has some rights, and that the Viceregal Household knows no limits to its generosity and that every

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one can be sure of a hearty and cheerful meal. It was not always so I must confess, but then we had not a presiding genius who would peep into the souls of others, whose heart is all kindness, whose numerous acts since she has been here have manifested to the whole of India and especially to womankind a tender, loving regard for humanity. And India cannot, will not and ought not to forget the numerous blessings bestowed by the kindly affectionate care manifested by Her Excellency towards suffering mankind and womankind.

His Excellency has also had the good fortune of having a Staff who always make the guests happy and at their ease. Every lady, every gentleman—military or civil—attached to the Staff has always had a kindly smile, and it would not be easy to forget all that we of the Executive Council and I in particular owe to those ladies and gentlemen who have been and are on the Staff.

Sir, I know I would have to go through the conventional process this evening, and knowing that I am a poor after-dinner speaker, I really wanted to peer into the mind, into the innermost workings of the mind of His Excellency, to take a few hints for my guidance. I knew full well that man has usurped woman's place (for toasts I am given to understand were the peculiar privilege in former times of the fair sex and it was only their health that was drunk to by the rough men of old !) and when I learnt of that etymological significance of the word 'toast' I wondered how I could get into the spirit of the old times and sing the praises of ladies' dresses, silk saris, their charms, beauty, their intellectual excellences and what is more, their kindly benevolence towards the ruder sex. But I realised very soon that this was an official function, although partaking of the nature of a social function intended to convey to me the affection of Their Excellencies for me. His Excellency, however, somehow divined intuitively what

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was passing in my mind and dissuaded me with my full consent from entering in the normal manner the precincts of Viceregal Lodge at the customary hour to-day in order to save me from the temptation of being so discourteous as to ask what His Excellency was going to say about me. I then realised that I could not portray to myself clearly what I was to say. I did not know what would be the particular mood of His Excellency the Viceroy to-day, what might be the cares that beset him. But then I realised that whatever may have been the reports, whatever may have been the worries and the cares of office, there will be always the same gentle heart beating and the same unruffled temper, there will be the same genial smile, there will be the same calmness and coo'ness of judgment manifested on this as on other occasions, and I was sure that whatever may have been the worries of office, His Excellency must have and will always have a warm corner in his heart for all his co'leagues and for me in particular.

Your Excellency, it must be some source of satisfaction that after your arduous labours during the last four and a half years you and I alike may claim some credit for our labours, and that when we leave the Government of India, we may feel that under Your Excellency's wise guidance prosperity has increased and India has had an abundance of harvests, and hence great economical prosperity. I realised—and I realise—the worry, the annoyance, sometimes perhaps the nuisance I have been to the calm and peace of my Honourable colleagues in the last four and half years; but then that was part of the bargain, and my Honourable colleagues when they accepted office must have considered that in the process of Indianization which is going on they will occasionally meet an obstinate fellow who refuses to see any point but his own—even the right one. I am therefore glad to realise that for all my obstinacy, that for all my inability to see

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the other view point, I do retain some regard from my Honourable colleagues. It is needless to say that what little of success I can claim credit for is due entirely to the loyal co-operation of my departmental chiefs and all those with whom I have had the good fortune to serve. It took them—and it took me—some little time to understand one another. I must admit that I must have been a source of trouble to them—at any rate at the beginning—and it took me some little time also to place myself exactly in the position of those who had to work with me—not having been accustomed to official life, to the mysterious processes of the official mind and possibly, accustomed as I have been to fight every inch of the ground to convince, it may have been, a subtle judge—it may have been a stupid judge!—accustomed as I have been to that process of thought, I must have been a source of trial and inconvenience to my colleagues. But then there is one inestimable advantage which only a lawyer's training can bestow—and His Excellency will thoroughly appreciate it—there is no one who will be able to place himself in the position of the other so readily as the lawyer—one who tries to understand the opposite point of view, to place himself in the position of his adversary, to try and meet his view point and, if possible, to reconcile the two points of view. There may be some delay in the process—the executive are naturally impatient! the lawyer cannot appreciate that point to the same extent as the executive officer; but I can assure you that a combination of the two will add, if not exactly to the efficiency of the bureaucratic machine, at any rate to its popularity. Hence, after a year or two, when my idiosyncracies were understood, and when I understood their view point, I have had the inestimable good fortune of being served by officers who understood me and the result has not been unsatisfactory. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford appointed me to this high office and I cannot forget my gratitude to that Viceroy who has done

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and suffered so much for the sake of India, and when I came under the régime of His Excellency Lord Reading, I knew that I had to deal with one of my own profession, one who would be able to understand my view point better than one trained in bureaucratic or military methods; and I am glad to be told that His Excellency has always tried to appreciate my view point. I may add that I have never been the worse for it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not propose to take up your time further to make you forget what we heard from His Excellency Lord Reading, the beauty of the ideas and the eloquent language in which those ideas were enclosed. The only point I wish to strike is this. I pray that all those who have the good of India at heart, all those who desire to see the two peoples appreciating and understanding one another's view points more clearly, more vividly than heretofore, all those who wish to see India raised in the constitutional process of evolution from what she is to full Dominion status, may work cheerfully, cordially, with robust optimism, with an unwavering faith towards the promotion of mutual co-operation, mutual goodwill, mutual trust, mutual confidence between the peoples of India and the rest of the Empire.

The task will be a hard one, an arduous one, a prolonged one, difficult one, but nevertheless, not an impossible one. The sons and daughters of India must feel that their stature—the full height of the stature need not be dwarfed by reason of their being within the Empire. They must realise, and they will realise, that their material and their economic interests are as safe—even safer—within the Empire than without; that it is the plain duty of every Indian citizen of every loyal Indian patriot to make the Britisher feel that British interests are equally safe, that British interests will receive the same attention, the same loyal regard as Indian interests. There is

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absolutely no conflict between the two ideals, between the two interests ; it is only necessary to take a long view of things and not the narrow view of the immediate interests either of the one party or of the other. There remains the heavy and responsible task of the statesman charged with the destinies of this Empire and of their agents and of all those who form and shape public opinion, to allow nothing to be done which will sunder the hearts of the people, to do nothing to impair the mutual trust and confidence of one in the other ; and I am sure that all those who are assembled here are imbued with these lofty ideals and will hand over to their successors the same lofty ideals for practice. I feel sure that the head of the Government who has wielded the destinies of this Empire through a critical period to such smooth working of the constitution, in spite of attempts at shipwreck, will, whether he is in India or outside, whether he is in office or outside office, always manifest the same keen desire and interest in India and her children, aided and helped and cherished by the noble spouse who has been a true helpmate in all his endeavours, in all his efforts for the Britisher and Indian alike.

I may say this in conclusion that I, for my part, shall never forget—can never forget—the generous manner in which all my colleagues and my head and Chief have treated me, in which my colleagues in the various departments have treated me, and I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to promote that good-will between the peoples of India and the rest of the Empire and not spend the leisure of my life in ignoble repose.

6th Octo-
ber 1925.

**FAREWELL DINNER TO THE VICEROY BY THE LEADING
INDIAN GENTLEMEN OF SIMLA.**

The leading Indian Gentlemen of Simla gave a Farewell Dinner to His Excellency the Viceroy at the Cecil Hotel, on the 6th October. In

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proposing the health of His Excellency, Sir Muhammad Shafi said :—

Your Excellency and Gentlemen.—For the third time during a period of 4½ years I have the honour to-night of proposing the health of His Excellency the Earl of Reading in this Summer Capital of India. I well remember the first of these three occasions when, in 1921, we as Members of the Chelmsford Club had the pleasure of offering our cordial welcome to His Excellency on his first arrival in Simla at a Banquet held in the local Masonic Hall. To-night we have assembled here to bid him a regretful farewell and to wish him and his noble consort a long and happy life. In a fortnight, Their Excellencies will be leaving these Olympian heights; even though Simla may not see them again, their genial and gracious personalities, their unrivalled hospitality, their keen interest in the welfare of the residents of these hills will remain fresh in our grateful recollection for a long time to come.

Gentlemen, though His Excellency will be leaving Simla in a very few days, the period of his high office does not expire till the beginning of April next. It is only for a comparatively short period of 5 years that the Viceroy and Governor-General holds the destinies of India in his hands. When this is the state of things, it may sometimes be—as was the case, for instance, with the Earl of Minto—that his crowning triumph may be achieved only towards the conclusion of his term of office. In these circumstances, the position of one who has to propose the Viceroy's health, at a farewell banquet like this, some 6 months before the conclusion of his term of office is like that of a critic who is asked to review a drama some time before the curtain is rung down upon the final scene. But in this instance there are outstanding facts connected with the last 4½ years which may appropriately be referred to on the present occasion.

Lord Reading came out to this country when a succession of crises had convulsed the Indian Continent from end to end. This is neither the place nor the occasion to apportion responsibility for the unhappy events which India had to pass through during that critical period. But, of this there is no shadow of doubt that catastrophic events were due mainly to two causes. One of these causes, it must, in fairness, be admitted, was no longer *res integra* when His Excellency assumed office. The other was still a burning question.

Regardless of the solemn pledge given by the Premier in the House of Commons on 5th February 1918, the Allies had imposed inequitably

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over-stringent peace terms on Turkey at Sevres. These conditions convulsed the Indian Mussalmans in common with the rest of the Muslim world. The resulting complications in this country are well-known to you all. Soon after assuming charge, His Excellency, having gauged the situation with remarkable precision, set to work in grim earnestness to persuade His Majesty's Government to bring about a modification of the Treaty of Sevres on lines calculated to satisfy reasonable Indian Muslim sentiment. It would take several chapters of a book on recent Indian history, yet to be written, to describe the action taken by His Excellency's Government as well as by himself in this connection at the various stages, some of them most critical, of that deplorable epoch in Near Eastern history. In intimate touch with him during the whole of this period, I watched with admiration and gratitude the farsighted statesmanship, the courageous persistence and consummate skill with which His Excellency handled this most delicate and complicated of international problems until at last the Treaty of Sevres was modified at Lousatine on the lines embodied in the famous telegram sent by the Government of India to His Majesty's Government in February 1923, the publication of which cost the late Mr. Montagu his seat in the Cabinet. For this consummation, Muslim India owes a heavy debt of gratitude to His Excellency which, indeed, it is impossible for us to repay. The policy, subsequently followed by His Majesty's Government of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Hedjaz is also to a great measure due to the advice given, from time to time, by His Excellency's Government. And, nearer home, the Government of India have, during this period, had to face many difficult and complicated problems on the North-Western Frontier. In spite of the situation having, at a certain juncture, been extremely delicate, His Excellency's tactful and masterly handling of it resulted not only in avoiding all difficulties but also in cementing the bond of friendship which links Afghanistan and India together to the incalculable benefit of both.

Gentlemen, turning from the realm of foreign affairs to that of internal administration, an unbiassed observer cannot but be struck with a series of administrative measures of the first importance which, in spite of having to face a stormy political atmosphere, His Excellency's Government have been able successfully to undertake during the last 4½ years. His Excellency assumed charge of his high office at a period when India was passing through a state of financial stringency unparalleled in her previous history. The accumulated deficit of the three years preceding April 1921 amounted to over 55 crores and that of the

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year 1921-22 exceeded 27½ crores. This series of startling deficits was in a large measure due to heavy military expenditure which had risen from 29,84 lakhs in 1913-14 to 86,97 lakhs in 1919-20. The resulting financial stringency, not only in the Central Government but also in the Provinces, upon whom the Meston settlement had cast the unbearably heavy burden of provincial contributions, rendered it impossible for the various Governments to undertake any measures calculated to promote industrial, educational and sanitary developments. In these circumstances, His Excellency considered it essential to take immediate measures to place India financially on her feet. It is impossible for me within the short time at my disposal to recapitulate the various steps taken by His Excellency's Government in this connection. As a result of the measures adopted, the deficit of 27½ crores in 1921-22 was converted into a surplus of 2,39 lakhs in 1923-24, the military expenditure of India being reduced to 56,25 lakhs in the current year as compared with 86,97 lakhs in 1919-20. And the Provinces have been relieved of the burden of provincial contributions to the extent of 3,63 lakhs.

Indian public opinion has, very naturally, always insisted upon an increasing Indianization of the Imperial Services which control the great departments of the State and have, in reality, the happiness and contentment of the Indian peoples in their hands. The recommendations of the Islington Commission in this connection had remained in abeyance owing to the World-War and it was only in the year 1919 that the Government were able to arrive at their conclusion on those recommendations. Meanwhile, increasing Indianization of the administration had been placed in the fore-front of the memorable declaration of 20th August 1917, subsequently embodied in the Preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, enunciating the goal of British policy in India. Only 4 years after the steps taken in 1919 in this respect, the question of further Indianization of the Imperial Services again received careful consideration and certain decisions were arrived at in 1924 in connection therewith. Sixty per cent Indian recruitment in the Indian Civil Service instead of 37½ per cent; 50 per cent in place of 33 per cent in the Indian Police Service; 75 per cent instead of 40 per cent in the Indian Forest Service and throwing open of the Foreign and Political Department to our countrymen constitute what must be admitted to be a distinctly substantial advance in the process of Indianization of these Services. Moreover, transfer of the power of appointment to and control of the Services administering the transferred departments from the Secretary of State to the Provincial Governments is a step forward

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in the direction of provincial autonomy which had been urged strenuously by all schools of Indian political opinion ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, thereby making the Ministers in the Provinces masters in their own households. And this process of Indianization has not been confined to our Civil Services. Recognizing the reasonable character of the demand, put forward in all Indian circles, for Indianization of the Officers' ranks in our Indian Army, His Excellency's Government took steps towards the satisfaction of this perfectly legitimate aspiration of the Indian peoples. And though the scheme of Indianization of only 8 units finally sanctioned by His Majesty's Government cannot be regarded as satisfactory from an Indian point of view, the credit of making a distinct move in the direction of this highly needed reform must rest with His Excellency.

Gentlemen, it is but natural that the Viceregalty of one who has been one of the foremost leaders of the English Bar and has held the high position of the Lord Chief Justice of England should be conspicuous for its reform of the judicial administration in this country. Hitherto, Europeans residing in India had enjoyed certain immunities and privileges in the matter of criminal administration which were not only repugnant to the principle of equal justice but were also galling to Indian self-respect. Racial distinctions in the administration of justice have now been removed and the law relating to criminal procedure has been brought up to date. Many of the repressive laws repugnant to modern ideas of justice and liberty have been repealed. And the appointment by His Excellency's Government of the Bar Committee and the Civil Justice Committee is producing desirable results in removing causes of dissatisfaction in a section of the legal profession as well as in expediting adjudication of cases in our Law Courts.

In the fields of agricultural and industrial development, a great deal has been accomplished during His Excellency's period of office. Great schemes of irrigation have been started which will bring millions of acres of barren land under cultivation and make India the biggest granary in all continents. Protection has already been given to India's premier industry of steel and machinery for protection of other industries, whenever justified, has been set up. Recognizing that Railway development is, in modern conditions, almost the first preliminary to industrial development, a scheme has been adopted which separates Railway finance from our general financial system whereby the Railway Board will be able to undertake railway developments on sound business lines and general revenue will, at the same time, benefit by receiving a

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substantial sum annually from the Railway budget without any liability for expenditure on railways. And the process of nationalization of our railways has progressed a further stage by the State taking over the two great railway systems known as the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and the East Indian Railway. Forest and agricultural education and research have been developed to an extent calculated to make India self-contained. The youth of our country need no longer travel thousands of miles across the sea in order to acquire post-graduate training or advanced education in these subjects. Higher education in India has received further impetus by the establishment of Universities in Delhi and Nagpur. A full catalogue of administrative achievements during His Excellency's period of office is beyond the scope of an after-dinner speech : the brief summary I have just given is sufficient to show what India owes to his Viceroyalty in financial stability, Indianization, administration of justice, industrial development and intellectual progress.

When, in November 1923, the question of further constitutional advance was adumbrated, His Excellency, whom I know to be a sincere well-wisher of India's progress towards full responsible Government, readily appointed a departmental Committee to explore possibilities of advance consistent with the provisions embodied in the Government of India Act. And subsequently, when that Committee had concluded its deliberations, non-official representatives of the three great political parties in the country, were invited to join the enlarged constitutional Inquiry Committee which after an open investigation of this problem, submitted its report in November last. With the two reports then submitted, you are all familiar. On an invitation sent out to him by His Majesty's Government, His Excellency then proceeded to England and the results of that visit, in so far as they have been actually disclosed, are well known to you all. Never before, in the history of this controversy, had any leading Conservative statesman been heard to say that a revision of the constitution was possible before 1929. Indeed, some of them had made open declarations to the contrary. To have persuaded Mr. Baldwin's Government to commit themselves to a revision of the constitution earlier than 1929, provided co-operation is shown by political parties in this country, is an achievement the credit of which is due to our honoured guest.

Gentlemen, when proposing His Excellency's health in the Masonic Hall in 1921, I spoke of the dark clouds with which the Indian political

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sky was over-cast and referred to the silver lining even then visible to eyes accustomed to scan the political horizon. The prophesy then made by me has now come true. The non-co-operation programme with its five boycotts adopted at the Special Calcutta Congress held in September 1920 is now absolutely dead. The speech delivered by the late Mr. C. R. Das at Faridpur and the subsequent declaration made by him, shortly before his untimely death, at the Bengal Provincial Conference, showed clearly that the Swaraj for which his party stood was Dominion Status within the British Empire. Within the Central Legislature, as was rightly said by Sir Basil Blackett only the other day, Indian representatives have already shown co-operation. The leaders of the Swaraj Party have co-operated with Government in respect of the Steel Protection Bill, separation of Railway Finance and other measures, the Deputy Leader of that Party has accepted Parliamentary office under the existing constitution, appealing, on the day of his installation, to all parties, official and non-official, for co-operation, the Leader of that party has accepted membership of the Indian Sandhurst Committee and will soon be proceeding to England along with certain of his colleagues. The Liberal Party have always put their faith in Indo-British Co-operation as the one effective means whereby India will attain her destined goal of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of nations. In my considered opinion, this is the psychological moment for His Majesty's Government to make a generous gesture—a gesture which, while satisfying our legitimate aspirations, would, I am convinced, strengthen the political connection between India and England to the mutual benefit of both. God grant that such a gesture may come before His Excellency leaves India's shores. And when he has returned to his home in England to enjoy the laurels of a long and distinguished career of service to the Empire, I hope and trust His Excellency will not forget the claim which our motherland has upon him. He leaves India a younger man than he was on his arrival in this country. I appeal to him with all the earnestness at my command to spend a little of his youthful energies and unique oratorical powers, when in England, to promote the cause of India's constitutional advance and to convince the British public that in the contentment and happiness of 310 millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects lies the permanence and stability of the British Empire itself.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen, I now request you to join with me in drinking to the long life, health and happiness of His Excellency the Earl of Reading.

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His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply:—

Sir Muhammad Shafi, Your Excellency and Gentlemen.—

I must not address the ladies because I understand that on this occasion they are purdah. My first thought on rising is to thank you all for the very cordial reception you have given to the toast, and especially to express my gratitude to those Indian gentlemen who are responsible for the organisation of this meeting this evening and for giving me and others the opportunity of meeting you at the first of the farewell dinners that may be given to me. I am encouraged and stimulated by all that has been said by Sir Muhammad Shafi and by your reception of it to continue my endeavours until the moment comes for me to leave India to promote so far as in me lies, the best interests of India.

I have wondered, Sir Muhammad, as you spoke whether I could sufficiently disentangle myself from the encomium which you lavished upon me in your survey of the four and a half years' history of my Viceroyalty to do justice to the toast in my response. If I were to take up the subjects to which you have referred, one by one, I should have to deal with them at greater length than you. You have managed very succinctly to cover this period and to make your observations in an appropriate manner and with felicity of expression all your own. But I hold a different position, and if I were to begin I should run the risk of misunderstandings and misinterpretations of what I had said, of criticism of what I had left unsaid, of references to the subjects upon which I had not touched and perhaps in some quarters to a suggested indifference wholly unjustified, to distress in some parts of India, or to the condition of Indians overseas. After reflection I have come to the conclusion that it is wiser for me to content myself with discharging an obligation paramount in my thoughts at this moment as the result of your speech.

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You, Sir Muhammad, have delivered an eloquent address characteristic of you and giving expression to your high ideals of patriotism, your strong common-sense and intense desire for the improvement of the conditions of the Indian people ; I have followed you with the deepest interest, making my own observations for future reference, with one thought prevailing throughout your speech as I watched you skilfully weaving the pattern of embroidery, and gazed with admiration upon the dexterity of those male fingers. I wish I had time and opportunity to attach to the various persons associated with me the proper credit for the texture the colour, the strength of each thread as you so carefully laid it in its appointed place. But I must content myself to-night first with the observation that you, Sir Muhammad, have been far too generous to me. Your warm heart and your zealous fervour have led you to attribute to me the whole credit for actions which are largely due to consultation and co-operation with the Government at home, or in a great measure—a very great measure—to the advice and assistance I have had from those associated with me in India. I look back upon the various episodes over this long period, and names surge in my brain of those to whom I would express gratitude for the devoted and loyal assistance they have given me. But I must not to-night indulge in these personal retrospects. I have had opportunities ; usually at the end of the period of service of a Member of my Council, when little time will elapse after I pay my sincere tribute to him and he will have but scant opportunity (in Sir Narasimha's case only a fortnight) to avenge himself upon me in Council.

It is not for me to say whether my period of office has been successful. Later in the cold and detached study the writer of history will record his impressions. If in those pages he is favourable in his comments I trust that he will not also forget to recall the services of those who have worked loyally with me

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and have contributed a large share to whatever achievements
have resulted.

If I could choose my subjects (but of course the Viceroy never has his choice) I would devote my observations for the rest of the evening to men's constant study, attention and admiration—Woman ! But as it has been impressed upon me that to-night I must not take note of their presence—I must rest happy in the knowledge that they are here and thank you, Sir Muhammad, and the hosts for the graceful thought that permitted their attendance.

You have said, Sir Muhammad, very truly that the period of my Viceroyalty is approaching its normal conclusion. Five years is a long period, conceived by wise and benevolent Secretaries of State in mercy to Viceroys for indeed it *is* a long period. Nowadays perhaps the burden is heavier, although in those days to which the minds of many of us will recur, there were periods of grave anxiety for Viceroys some of whom suffered severely from the physical strain as the pages of history record. The strain is now heavy and incessant. In former days Viceroys were not troubled with Legislatures or, if they were, they were assured of a majority. By the operation of fortune I am the first Viceroy to administer India with a majority in the Legislature of which, to say the least, I cannot always be sure ! Aye ! the period approaches its conclusion. To-night I am minded to think of the end. I dislike ends ; I prefer beginnings ; I prefer youth to my present advanced age, youth full of courage, knowing nothing of its own limitations, failing to realise the difficulties of the ascent, thinking that the boundless horizon is his to conquer. He has not yet learnt the difficulties and obstacles in his path—sometimes they may happen fortuitously, at others by deliberate action.

This evening I have a radiant glow of warmth around me, as if in the sunshine on the hills of Simla, with a bright blue

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sky and a lovely radiant sun. I revel in the glowing periods which have fallen from Sir Muhammad. Being human—very human I hope!—I try to think that I have deserved some of the praise; I argue with myself that possibly there may be some credit hereafter due to me. But I shall leave the correct appreciation as I have indicated to future speakers or to the writer and the historian.

In case however I might be tempted to take too literally all that has been said to-night, I shall devote the next week to reading the criticisms in the extremist Press of Sir Muhammad's speech.

When I came in 1921 I had one aim, one object in mind, that so far as it lay within my power, I should do all I could to promote the interests of India and truer friendship between India and the Empire. I must not be tempted to travel over the events of the intervening periods. If I pause to dwell upon one of the many subjects to which you have referred, namely the Indian Moslem situation, and the actions that followed upon my assuming office, it is because some of the observations made by Sir Muhammad should not go unchallenged by me. I shall not discuss them. I intend merely to observe that the history, as stated by him, fails to take account of the many complexities and perplexities of the European situation when the developments occurred to which he has made reference and I would add that whilst I freely admit my desire to do all I could to help the Indian Moslem and to redress his legitimate grievances I must again say that the credit for what may have been accomplished should be shared with others. I am glad to think that when I leave India there are many Indian Moslems who will think of one with gratitude as Sir Muhammad has expressed it and may I add the hope that it will not be confined to the Indian Moslems, but that the Hindus, Sikhs and other communities may find some ground for thankfulness to me; at the worst I trust they may conclude that if I have not done much, at least I

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meant well. I have on former occasions expressed my gratitude to Sir Muhammad Shafi for his assistance during all these troublous times when we were dealing with the Moslem situation ; and I shall not repeat it to-night because if I did I should feel absolutely bound, in the desire to be quite impartial to refer also to Dr. Sapru and Sir Narasimha Sarma.

You have referred, Sir Muhammad, to finance. I always find that the realms of finance are of the utmost fascination, but I have never yet discovered the mystery of being able to compress figures satisfactorily after dinner. They don't lend themselves well to the operation. I have a vivid recollection of my impressions when I first came to study Indian finance. I had the valuable assistance of Sir Malcolm Hailey. He was a strong advocate of retrenchment ; he was a far stronger advocate perhaps than India has quite recognised ; he was backed by the Assembly or, perhaps as the Assembly thinks, he was forced into his advocacy by the Assembly. Certainly I first heard the magic word 'retrenchment' from Sir Malcolm. Both he and the Assembly pressed upon the Government of India the necessity for economy, which resulted in the Commission under Lord Inchcape from which we have derived untold benefit. In the later years Sir Basil Blackett, my old associate in the different periods when I was in the United States of America during the War, has been at the helm of finance, I need not say anything about this period, save that in justice (which from my past occupation I can never forget !) I must remember that the credit in the main is due neither to the Viceroy, nor to the Finance Member, nor to the Legislature, but to Divine Providence, Who gave us good monsoons.

I cannot speak of the development of India to-night save to mention that I see great opportunities in the various fields to which reference has been made. I must not dwell upon commerce—perhaps a dull subject after dinner!—nor upon railways,

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nor even on irrigation, but I will say a word about agriculture, for as I grow older in my service to India, as I learn to understand her problems, as I perceive more keenly the anxieties of India, I come more and more to the conclusion, aided and assisted by those who have the knowledge and experience, that the great industry of India to which India must look for her regeneration and her prosperity, is her agriculture ; and we must do all we can to further it.

Sir Muhammad, I approach the final subject I shall mention. You stated that you believed in the Liberal faith of Indo-British co-operation for the benefit of India. Aye, and so do I : so do we all here assembled. And you have invited me or the Secretary of State, or His Majesty's Government to make a generous gesture. You have told us that this is the psychological moment. Will you permit me to observe, Sir Muhammad, that all moments are psychological for generous gestures. But as I listened, when I heard you enunciate the view that this was the moment for a gesture, my heart gave a great bound. I thought, Sir Muhammad is about to tell us of that for which we have long been waiting. But no, he passed on to tell us that the gesture was to come from His Majesty's Government ; I wondered because I thought from Sir Muhammad's speech and especially the introductory observations to this subject when he referred gracefully and—if he will allow me to say—eloquently to the remarks of the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, that that was the gesture indicated. But as he proceeded I realised that the appetite for generous gestures grows with their receipt. Sir Muhammad referred to the time when I was summoned home but paid far too great attention to me and far too high a tribute to me for what had happened. My duty was to lay before the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government the right policy as I conceived it for India, the situation as I understand it in India, what I counselled as the result of my experience of India. It was for

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the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government, with the privilege that I had of discussion with them, to come to conclusions. We arrived fortunately at complete agreement between us, which seems to surprise some who found that there was not much difference between my speech when I opened the Legislature and that of Lord Birkenhead when he addressed the House of Lords. But have we quite realised the effect of that speech? Do we remember the words of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State in a Conservative Government? I make no distinction between political parties in England with regard to co-operation of India. There is none. All are agreed, all are desirous of befriending India, but all are waiting for the gesture of co-operation and good-will from India. Think of its significance! Since the declaration of 1917, since the Government of India Act of 1919, no such generous gesture has come from any Government as emanated from Lord Birkenhead in his speech in the House of Lords; and to him I pay tribute, as should thinking India, for the breadth of vision that characterised his speech and for the generosity of the views he expressed. But I am fain to admit that I am disappointed at the reception of that speech and of the policy there adumbrated. In justice I must add that I recognise that since that time the atmosphere has to some extent cleared. We have once for all cleared the ground and know definitely what is the object, so far as I understand it, of all political India. At one time some of us thought, we may have been wrong—there were newspaper articles which justified us and speeches from political leaders—that a desire existed in India for an Indian Constitution conceived on Oriental lines, quite different from that based upon Parliamentary institutions evolved in Britain and known as Parliamentary Government. As the result of the events in the Assembly, one point has been established. It has been demonstrated that there is no desire for a constitution other than that based on

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Parliamentary institutions. I am not seeking by these remarks to make a point against political parties. I am only taking pleasure in recalling that we have cleared the atmosphere of a difficulty which seemed every now and then to emerge. I am tempted to recall another feature of recent debates but I shall refrain, for if I were to estimate the action of members of the Legislative Assembly, as showing an intention to co-operate, I might perhaps cause trouble in some particular political camp. I shall therefore merely note that in my judgment, at the present day as I understand the situation, there is a more favourable atmosphere than has existed during my Viceroyalty. I regret that it is not more pronounced and more definite, but I recognise from long experience the exigencies and the difficulties of political leaders. It is a pity, I think, that the opportunity has not been more surely grasped. My impression is that generosity becomes more generous when generously responded to. I wonder sometimes that the political sagacity of India has not rushed to seize the hand that was held out across the sea from England and has not grasped it warmly and said, it may be, we hold to our opinions, we still think we should proceed faster, but we know we cannot advance without the British Parliament; we are aware that your plans were conceived upon the basis of co-operation and good-will; you have asked us for it, we tender it willingly, generously; we will not lag behind England! The Secretary of State said, give us evidence of sincere co-operation of India and you will not find England a niggardly bargainer. I wish that India had responded in the same spirit. A wave of generous feeling would then have been transmitted across the ocean which would have tended to unite the peoples in a friendship brightening the outlook of the future. If India, desiring as we are told to remain within the Empire, would co-operate with England and show her good will then she might say: trust begets trust and we await with confidence the results of our co-opera-

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tion. But that has not happened, and we cannot go beyond what has taken place. Even so, I conclude my observations with expressing the desire that in the future the friendship between India and Britain will grow daily and will increase until it becomes a real living bond between the two countries standing together for the common good, working together for ideals of humanity, striving to better the conditions of the people of India. Thus the benefits of the civilisation of Britain would be joined to those of the older civilisation of India, and India and Britain bound together by the sacred ties of friendship would labour hand in hand for the benefit not only of India and of the Empire but also of humanity.

FAREWELL DINNER TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE
UNITED SERVICE CLUB, SIMLA.

15th Oc-
tober
1925.

The President and Members of the United Service Club, Simla, gave a Farewell Dinner to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 15th October, and Major General Sir E. H. de V. Atkinson proposed the health of the Viceroy in the following terms :—

*Your Excellencies and Gentlemen.—*There is an adage which aptly fits two people in the room to-night—some are born to greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them. I leave you to decide who are the two people I have in mind. I am not going to dilate on the fact that I rise in great trepidation and that I am quite unused to speech making, because you will find that out for yourselves before I go very far, but what I should like to impress upon you is that whatever my shortcomings may be they are also yours. You selected me as your mouthpiece and you must take the consequences. The usual life of our Club is a fairly humdrum existence. Once in five years that humdrum existence is broken. Once in five years the Club has the honour of assisting in making history, because a Viceroy of India not only makes history but his name is for ever recorded not only in the history of India but of the British Empire. To-night we are once again honoured in that His

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Excellency Lord Reading has accepted our invitation to attend this dinner, and now we hope in a very humble manner to show him our appreciation of his great kindness and hospitality to us during his stay in India. Gentlemen, I now turn to the serious portion of my remarks and I propose briefly to consider our noble guest in three aspects.

Firstly, as a man ; I think there are few present here to-night who have not read or heard of the life history of this man. Well has it been said that his youth was a romance, and through all the difficulties and trials of that youth, the clear brain, the wonderful industry and the steadfast heart, have developed the character and qualities which God gave him into the finished article you now see before you. Before leaving the man I must briefly allude to the sportsman. As you know owing to the great activities of his career he had little time before to devote to shikar. But I think if you were privileged to look into his game book, that even for a Viceroy, fortune has smiled kindly upon him. I am told his inclinations lean more to the gun and rifle than to the pen—even when allied to that useful article of office furniture—the file.

The second aspect I propose to consider is His Excellency as a Statesman and Administrator. Those qualities of the man which I have just mentioned may not in themselves lead every man to the summit. Much else is needed. Shall we say personality, determination, singleness of purpose, marvellous memory, and great legal acumen. Whatever they were they have led our illustrious Guest to some of the highest positions under our Gracious King. They have developed and perfected, in the man the attributes which have made him in a marked degree a Statesman, and Administrator, a persuasive and eloquent platform speaker, a forensic debator with few rivals in his generation and a Parliamentary figure of great charm and influence.

I, Gentlemen, as you know, am no politician and not well qualified even to hint at the values and reasons of the acts of His Excellency's administration. But I will take courage in both hands and mention a few points with which all thinking men will, I think, agree. We note his steadfast refusal to give away to panic at moments when, especially in 1921-1923 the constitution seemed to be in danger. He has taken a constructive view of the Indian constitution. He has steadfastly adhered to this view in circumstances when it would have been easy to take a purely negative line, and has always endeavoured

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to lead Indian public opinion away from empty abstractions and unrealisable ambitions and to bring it face to face with the practical opportunities afforded by the *Status quo*.

There is one further quality which I think Lord Reading must possess in a marked degree. Here we see a man, who has risen to the very top of his profession who had been selected in trying and troublesome times to be the envoy of our nation to a great sister nation. One would think that here many men would be satisfied. That after the successful outcome of those eminent and difficult duties, with which his life had been filled, it would be better to rest on his laurels than to run a great risk of dimming the lustre of past achievements. The burden of Viceroyalty is great, even when the omens are favourable; how heavy must it have appeared when the dangerous groundswell of the aftermath of war made everything look insecure and nebulous. No; when called upon to fill one of the highest positions under the Crown—one which, however, was fraught with the certainty of enormous difficulties, at a time when it was evident that those difficulties offered no swift or even possible solution—we found our Noble Guest, placing all thoughts of comfort, help and even self on one side, taking up the burden. Therefore I feel that His Excellency must possess in a very marked degree, that further quality I spoke of, and that, Gentlemen, is courage.

Briefly reviewing the past five years, I ask could anyone say, politically, in 1921, where to find a firm ground in India? To-day the disruptive forces are themselves in disruption. Recent events have shown signs of a change of heart which we welcome, as possibly the beginnings of more reasonable action in constitutional spheres. Who made that change of heart possible, who but our patient and wakeful Viceroy, whose imagination enabled him to discern causes of hope when we lesser folk only saw omens of disaster? Financially, in 1921, India was in a bottomless pit, deficit following deficit. To-day she has squared her accounts; and what is perhaps more important she is proceeding to place her financial operations on a more approved footing. Whom has India to thank for that? When deprived of the services of his Finance Minister Sir Malcolm Hailey who laid the foundations of retrenchment and economy with no uncertain hand His Excellency having marked the great financial ability of Sir Basil Blackett in America insisted on having him sent out here to assist in making secure the financial foundation of the new constitution. The Army has, indeed, cause for gratitude to His Excellency. Faced with the very difficult position of balancing the

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security of India with a great financial burden, he has turned a deaf ear to the wild men and while insisting on every retrenchment and economy possible has dealt with the Army with equity and good faith.

Looking round now in all respects indeed I think we may say without undue optimism there is now movement and hope where five years ago there was stagnation and pessimism. His Excellency is entitled to look back on these five difficult years with no small satisfaction. Looking forward may be representing the race that has practically made modern India plead with him with his Government and with his successor to remember that Indian progress in whatever direction cannot prosper without the cordial assistance of us and the like of us. We claim our right to serve India in the future as in the past and we look to the Government of India to keep us secure in the exercise of that right.

The third aspect in which I regard Lord Reading is somewhat of an Irishism—it is Lady Reading. It was with deep concern I heard yesterday of Her Excellency's indisposition and in your name I offer our sincere sympathies to Her Excellency and our hopes that she will soon be restored to good health. I feel that His Excellency will not mind if I state that we have perceived what a help and comfort Lady Reading has been to His Excellency during these strenuous years that have passed. Hampered by frail health her courage and determination to do even more than her duty have conquered physical disabilities, spirit and conquered the flesh. We have seen and noted her endless activities in endeavouring to alleviate the sufferings and troubles of her sisters in this country. We ourselves have known her kind nature and appreciated the hospitality and friendship which she has dispensed with such charm and courtesy. Gentlemen, I know I will be voicing your sentiments when I say that when, as guests, we enter the precincts of Viceregal Lodge we soon appreciate the fact that we are not there as mere official guests but we find an atmosphere which makes us feel that we are welcome guests among kindly friends.

Now Gentlemen I ask you to stand up and drink the health, prosperity, long life and happiness of our illustrious guest and couple therewith the name of Lady Reading.

In replying to the Toast, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen.—This is a special occasion. I gather that it is your custom to enter-

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tain the Viceroy at this Club usually some six months before the end of his tenure in order to bid him farewell before he says his last adieu. No doubt this is due in the main to the incontestable fact that he is on the point of leaving Simla but I have sometimes wondered whether this custom was conceived for the purpose of supplying him with a *locus paenitentiae* in order to remind him that having but a short six months before him there is still time to remedy those defects which have characterised his administration in regard to the Services, (laughter) and looking back upon my period I have wondered whether there is anything that I can still do in this way during the six months. (Applause.) I am not quite sure, but I will take the opportunity of your presence here this evening (so many of you who have been in close association with me) to express the hope that if I have at times perhaps, seemed a little exacting, or even a little too critical of those who have been concerned with me in the administration of India, they will remember that the strain is great, the leisure is scanty, the demands are heavy and that human nature is not invariably on the same level plane. I rejoice in this occasion because I have felt a great desire to meet you this evening and to express my thoughts to you, the members of the Services. (Applause.) I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the excellent speech you made (applause) in which I looked in vain for signs of that trepidation with which in absolute disregard of truth you characterised your emotions at the moment. (Laughter.) You, Mr. Chairman have referred to Her Excellency. May I be permitted to transpose the order of your three aspects by taking my Lady first? (App'ause.) I appreciated your charming and sympathetic observations and I well understood why you left the best to the last; but I shall not risk displeasure at your hands if in a company of gentlemen I insist upon putting the lady first, (hear, hear) and in case you

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should think that I am actuated by a too devoted gallantry I shall also inform you that my reason is that I know perfectly well that once I have managed to instil into this meeting something of the spirit of Her Excellency and of that sympathetic radiance which a good woman alone can manage to spread round her I shall be assured of my reception from you (loud applause) I noticed with especial pleasure that your references to Her Excellency were received with the greatest applause. Nothing could please me more, (hear, hear) for I should indeed be lacking in grace if I failed to acknowledge the invaluable help which she has always given me in the Viceroyalty. Mr. Chairman, you showed a great sense of delicacy when you spoke of her with the knowledge that you were thus paying the most pleasing attention and the greatest honour to me, (applause) for in no conventional sense Her Excellency is the better part of me. You cannot honour the whole without honouring the part and the better part. I thank you all most gratefully. (Applause.) The Chairman has travelled briefly over my career as Viceroy in three aspects. I am grateful and this in all earnestness—for the kind and generous observations he made with reference to me. I am not minded to take his speech too literally. I know enough of the flush of after dinner oratory. But yet I will risk my reputation for modesty and the capacity of criticising myself by saying that I believe that in substance he meant what he said. (Loud applause.) I would go even further perhaps and say that I cannot but feel a high satisfaction at finding myself praised in a company of experts who receive that praise with a demonstration of approval. I will content myself by expressing the hope that in the future in the calmness of study and when years have past some part of the observations that you have made may still be accepted as true by the Services in India. (Applause.) I shall

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leave the matter for the future and for this evening as regards many of the matters to which you have referred merely accept—if I may—your observations and express my gratitude to you for them.

My thoughts for this evening have naturally centred round the Services. I have the advantage of knowing that at this moment I am surrounded by those who, both in the civil and military services, have been associated with me during these years. When I look round the room I see so many of whom I would like to tell you anecdotes, (laughter), but if I were to start I should never finish. The dominant factor throughout all I might relate would be the outstanding determination of the members of the Services to give everything of their best to the assistance of him who happened to be the head of the administration in India. (Applause.) The Services have many branches. Each of them has its special duties. You are even better acquainted with them than I, and I shall certainly not attempt to recapitulate them. I earnestly trust that you will nevertheless understand that although I do not go into detail I bear in mind the contributions of each individual Service though I speak only on broad lines.

I cannot help thinking of all the changed conditions in the Services even since my time. There are the changed conditions of the Army, a much more strenuous life in times of peace, more exacting demands on them than formerly and particularly greater demands for military efficiency nowadays than in the old period. In addition and I am afraid during my time the military have sometimes had calls to responsibilities which are not within the ordinary area of their functions, that is, of interfering in civil disturbances. I know that there is nothing a soldier hates more—partly because he feels that he is on insecure ground, and partly also because

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he has a natural reluctance to being brought in on these occasions. Nevertheless the duty is upon him and he must take the responsibility and during my time here I have never known him shirk it (hear, hear), I have especially observed the calmness and restraint of both officers and men and the desire if possible to avoid the use of weapons generally destined for other occasions. In the end if a soldier is called upon to act then he faces his responsibility and does his best and trusts in the Government. (Applause.) My general impression with regard to the Army founded upon much observation and study of it (if I may say so in the presence of our distinguished Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief) is that the Army in India is in good condition both as regards equipment and training. (Applause.) I am confident that if the Army were called upon, and particularly under its present head with the distinguished officers that surround him it would give an excellent account of itself in the future as it has done in the past. (Applause.)

I am especially desirous this evening of paying my tribute to the great Civil Services in India. They have had in the last few years to face very difficult conditions. Great changes were wrought undoubtedly by the Reformed scheme of Government arising from the famous declaration of 1917. The Reforms undoubtedly affected them. It would be idle to deny it. It is curious to observe in this connection that for a long time we were told that the political reforms were a sham. If a member of the Services were asked he would give an excellent answer to that from his own experience. (Laughter.) They found that conditions of work were changed, the outlook was different, the methods were no longer the same and there was a greater tendency to public criticism. It became necessary for the members of the services to adjust themselves to the changed conditions. Some found it impossible; it may be that their ideas were too set;

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it may be perhaps that they did not approve of the changes for a variety of reasons. It was acknowledged by Government that if a member could not adjust himself to the new conditions, he was entitled to honourable retirement. The consequence as you are well aware was that a scheme giving the opportunity was established. Some took it, but the great majority, I am glad to say, did not avail themselves of it. They are still in the Services, prepared to carry on their duties, to serve the King, to serve India, and to do their utmost for the country they have adopted. (Loud applause.) They studied the new conditions, they tested them, they made the necessary adjustments and, as I know from my own experience, they have found that under new forms, sometimes under new methods, and certainly under conditions different from those in existence when they joined the service, there still remains the opportunity for good work, and for carrying on their duties according to the traditions of the services in India—the fine, the glorious traditions of the services in India than which no finer exist in any Public Service throughout the world. (Applause.)

For a time a wave of pessimism swept over the Services. I shall not dilate upon it now. I am glad to say that phase is past. There was a fear that the old traditions would be engulfed, that the old standards would lose their validity, that the old ideals would be dimmed. But that fear has now disappeared if not entirely (that may perhaps be too much to say) at least sufficiently to give place to a realisation that the more difficult the position the greater the opportunity for discharging a high duty and the greater the opportunity the greater the necessity for high ideals. (Applause.) I would desire to give expression this evening to the genuine conviction of one who is not in the habit of accepting opinions ready made but who has a tendency to probe questions. I am speaking not only

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to those who are habitually associated with us here or in Delhi in the Government of India but equally to those who play a less conspicuous part who live scattered throughout this great continent, sometimes in rather dreary isolation, often in hardship and discomfort, bearing responsibilities, acquitted themselves not only well, not only honourably, but in such a manner as to be of valuable assistance to the Government of India. Let me express the firm opinion that a Government of India however it may be constituted by whomever it may be administered will never discharge its functions unless it can rely upon men of this character throughout the length and breadth of the land. (Applause.) They are in the daily habit of solving problems. Very often the success of their solutions prevents those in high authority ever hearing of them. (Hear, hear.) They are content to go on quietly administering, doing their work which gains at least the recognition and gratitude of those among whom they move. I have been profoundly impressed during my period of office by the high standards of character, of sympathy, of initiative, of capacity to shoulder responsibility which are to be found throughout the Services. (Applause.) What produces them is not easy to conjecture. There are tests of knowledge and learning but it is much more difficult to get a test of character which in administration tells perhaps even more in the long run than the highly cultured intellect. (Applause.) Those who built up the fine traditions of the Services had the British genius, they had courage and above all an innate sense of fairness. They inspired the idea that come what may they would try to do right, they would try to understand the other man's point of view and above all they would try to be just. And in addition they had the courage of their convictions, and a deep devotion to their duty to the Crown. At the present time I am glad indeed to find that the wave of pessimism

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which prevented the British youth from joining the Services as heretofore, is disappearing, the old traditions are being re-established, the old families seem to be taking their part again. (Applause.) Only recently we saw that the son of one of the most distinguished members of the Service in India (hear, hear) had passed brilliantly into the Service and will, I hope, soon be walking in the footsteps of his father. (Applause.) There are other names of families well known to India in the latest list. I rejoice for I believe that if England understood the work that lies before these men in India the appeal would be as effective as it has ever been in the past. The posts for which they will be required in the future will be fewer, we have embarked definitely upon a policy of extensive Indianisation ; there is a programme well known to you which will be carried through. But with the reduction in numbers the need for quality is more insistent and I believe that in the future, as in the past, there will be opportunities for men who will come to India to serve India and the Empire, that the demand for them will continue from India and that their services will be as valuable as they have been in the past. I look forward to the time, I hope not far distant, Mr. Chairman, when there will be an end of the racial hostility which has to some extent characterised discussions in the last few years, when it will be recognised that with the assistance of both—of British and of Indian—a great work lies ahead to be achieved in India. I do not doubt that the culture of the intellectual India has qualities of its own, from which we shall derive an element of value in the Services. But it is also the case that in the character of the British, as we know it, there are qualities which will certainly help India ; and we may hope for an eclecticism which will give us the best that is in both ; that they may be joined in friendly co-operation, working together for the benefit, for the advancement, for the progress of India within the Empire—

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part of that great association of nations—with the same high ideals before them, to achieve that progress which will improve the conditions of the people of this country and promote for all purposes the interests, the prosperity and the happiness of the India of the future. (Prolonged app'ause.)

14th Dec-
ember
1925.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COM-
MERCE OF INDIA AND CEYLON AT CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech in opening the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon :—

Mr. President, Your Excellency and Gentlemen.—I thank you most cordially for the warm welcome you have extended to me and for the sympathetic references you have made to Her Excellency Lady Reading. Her Excellency and I greatly appreciate your kindness. The many expressions of sympathy and kindly feeling we have received from all classes and all parts of India during her recent illness have been a source not only of gratification to me but of strength and encouragement to Her Excellency.

Let me thank you also for the kind terms in which you have spoken of myself and my work and of my connection with the meetings of the Associated Chambers. You have referred to the interest I have taken in commercial affairs. When I came to India among the many conceptions I had formed after much reflection of the responsibilities of my high office, none was clearer in my mind than the necessity of keeping my finger on the pulse of commerce and finance and of maintaining the closest touch with the movements of trade and industries. In my past experience I had been brought into contact with many aspects of these questions and had been convinced of the close-

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ness of the tie which connects the prosperity and contentment of a country with the course of its trade and commerce. I had no illusions as to the depth of the reactions on the former which might be engendered by any severe deterioration in the latter ; nor did I leave out of my picture that trade and commerce are delicate plants of complicated structure ; that they are easily affected in adverse ways by an atmosphere of political insecurity or discontent and that their normal course may not infrequently also run a risk of being impeded by misunderstandings in administrative measures. For these reasons throughout my time as Viceroy I have kept a constant watch on the commercial and financial situation ; and everything that has a bearing upon it has had my most earnest attention. I have taken active steps from time to time to press forward the consideration of any measures appearing to me to be beneficial to the general commercial welfare ; and I have always encouraged the officers of my Government to maintain the closest touch with the commercial associations and business men at the chief centres of trade and industry ; I greatly appreciate your references to the extent to which your views have received attention and consideration at the hands of my Government. The annual meetings of the Associated Chambers have afforded me a valuable opportunity of addressing you personally in regard to questions of mutual interest to us and have enabled the members of my Government to exchange views and take part in profitable discussions with those well qualified to speak on those subjects. I greatly regret that this is the last occasion on which I shall address the representatives of the Associated Chambers ; but you may rest assured that my sympathy in all that concerns the welfare of that part of India's activities you represent will never flag ; and that even after I lay down my office, as far as distance and time permit, India's commercial problems will continue to evoke my keenest interest and command my understanding sympathy.

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Before passing to other subjects, let me dwell for a moment, as has been my custom in the past, on the general course of trade in the present year. It could hardly perhaps be expected that the high water mark of last year's activity could be consistently maintained. Some pause was in fact evident in the first few months of the year 1925-26 and the bulk of trade moving was somewhat less than in the same period of the previous year. The wheat harvest also did not fulfil its early promise. Nevertheless as the cold weather started, goods began to move more easily and during the last four months railway earnings have exceeded those of the same period of last year. The price of several commodities has fallen. The Tariff Board reported in July that the heavy imports of iron and steel of last year had been absorbed into consumption and that stocks had returned to normal. The more remarkable items of the changes in prices have been the rise in the price of raw jute due to a short crop and the fall in the price of raw cotton, piece goods and coal. Other features calling for observation are the continued stability of exchange and the hope of improvement in the mill situation in Bombay following on the cessation of the strike. I recognise that there has been considerable depression in business in Bombay; but I trust fortune may now take a turn for the better and that the outlook may prove more hopeful. Generally speaking it would appear that in India as a whole there is abundant business to be done and though the margin of profit will doubtless be less than in some past years, the volume of demand is present and the atmosphere is favourable for steady, if slow, expansion of activity.

The year has been marked by two events of outstanding importance in their possible reactions on trade and commerce. I allude to the arrival of the Currency Commission in India, and to the suspension of the Cotton Excise Duty. The enquiry which the Commission have undertaken of advising on the com-

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plicated and technical issues of currency and exchange is a most arduous task and I trust that the freest and fullest assistance will be given to the Right Hon'ble Hilton Young and his colleagues in their investigations. I need hardly point out that the decisions which will be arrived at on their recommendations, must necessarily be of the greatest importance to commercial interests and to the development of India's resources. I feel sure that this aspect of their labours will be realised by all members of the commercial community and I look to them to give the commission the benefit of their own knowledge and experience. I am confident that the Commission will make a most valuable contribution to the solution of these problems which are of special difficulty and affect the general prosperity of the country in a marked degree.

As regards the Cotton Excise Duty the statement issued by me at the time of the promulgation of the Ordinance will have made the reasons for my action clear. My Government was under a promise to remit the duty when financial considerations permitted its removal. At the time of last budget we decided that considerations did not permit removal at that time and that preference in using surplus must be given to the remission of provincial contributions. The Legislative Assembly at the time made gestures in favour of abolition but were in substance in agreement with the course then taken. Meanwhile the situation of the mill industry in Bombay became serious. In September last the Assembly again discussed the question of the duty and voted for its suspension, with full cognizance that suspension would involve abolition. It was the middle of the financial year and the position as regards prospects and commitments was still uncertain. Ordinarily legislation for the abolition of taxation would properly come under consideration only at budget time. We were not prepared, on the data then available,

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to commit ourselves in September last to abolition of the duty in the next budget ; and it was idle to consider suspension unless it was to be followed immediately by proposals for abolition. Later when the year had declared itself more fully, and we had more detailed estimates before us of financial prospects we determined that no serious financial risk would be incurred by suspending the duty forthwith for the remainder of the year, with the intention of proposing abolition in the next year ; and after consultation with my Government and reference to the Secretary of State and with their full approval, I at once took the step of promulgating an Ordinance to suspend the duty with effect from the 1st of this month. In view of various observations in the Press I desire to emphasise that the statement issued by me with the Ordinance contains a plain recital of the facts and reasons that led to my action. No conditions express or implied are attached to the suspension. The beneficial effect of this action in the situation in Bombay was immediate. I have been gratified to observe that the owners lost no time in meeting the grievances of the mill-hands and restoring the cut in wages. The strike has ended and the Mills are at work again. The Associated Chambers have no doubt also read the statement issued at Manchester by the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Association on December 1st and have appreciated, as I have, the frank acceptance by Lancashire interests of the action we have adopted to carry out a long standing promise and to ease the difficulties of our mill industry in India.

I do not propose to dwell on the Agenda before you, save to express my gratification on observing that it includes a resolution regarding agriculture. With the general principle stated in the earlier part of that resolution all those who know Indian conditions will, I feel sure, cordially agree. It would

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be premature for me to make any announcement at the moment ; but without betraying confidence I may inform you that I and my Government have been in communication with the Secretary of State for some time past on the question and that we have invited the views of the Local Governments in regard to definite proposals for the improvement of agriculture. The recommendations we may eventually make to the Secretary of State must await the views expressed by the Local Governments, but the Chambers may rest assured that the subject commands the attention that its importance to the country and to commerce in particular demands.

As this is the last occasion on which I shall have the opportunity of addressing you, it will be of interest to review the general conditions prevailing during my term of office and their effect upon the course of trade and commerce. On my arrival in India I found the commercial situation gloomy, prospects depressing and the commercial community in a state of discouragement. March the 31st, 1921 brought to a close a most abnormal and disastrous year in Indian trade. The year 1919 had been marked by a good monsoon ; the true economic effects of the world war had not had time to declare themselves and there was a general boom in trade. The serene sky changed with startling rapidity in 1920-21. The monsoon was poor. Public expenditure exceeded public revenue by 26 crores. The favourable trade balance changed into an adverse balance of 80 crores. Outlets for Indian produce, as for example, tea, continuously contracted while the Indian markets were congested with large stocks of highly valued exports. Exchange had fallen to one shilling three pence in March 1921. Prices were speedily receding from the high pitch of the previous year. Credit throughout India was severely shaken. Nor were other conditions

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calculated to inspire confidence. The political atmosphere was heavily charged. The reforms appeared to have started on their journey under unfavourable auspices. If the commercial and financial situation was depressing, there were equally features in the political situation which tended to make merchants discouraged and depressed. A period of difficulty and stagnation followed. In spite of the high prices still ruling for many commodities, the total value of the sea-borne trade, exports and imports, touched a lower figure than in any year from the close of the war up to the present time. 9 months later, in January 1922, the President of Associated Chambers in opening the Annual Meeting expressed the general despondency in the words which you no doubt recall :—

“ What is before us it is impossible to say but we must admit that there are great masses of black clouds ahead out of which anything may be expected.”

In addition to other troubles the conditions of the years of the war had prevented the proper maintenance of many of the services on which the general prosperity of the country depends. This was notably the case as regards railways. Large arrears of renewals and replacements had accumulated and expansion naturally was severely impeded.

All trades and industries were adversely affected by these conditions, though fortunately the time of severest difficulty was not always the same for each trade. Tea which was one of the first industries to experience a heavy setback, was also one of the earliest to recover. Great credit is due to that industry for the concerted measures taken and for the loyalty with which they were carried out by individual members. Tea of standard grade fell rapidly in 8 months in 1920 to 4 pence a pound ; but by 1925 the exports were

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greater than they had ever been in quantity and fetched satisfactory prices. In other trades recovery has not been so strongly marked or so rapid. Many other branches, for example piece-goods, jute, cotton manufactures, iron and steel and general exports and imports have had to undergo almost similar difficulties. Recovery from the bed level of 1921 must necessarily be built up slowly. Debris has to be removed and confidence restored : economic dislocation still prevails in other countries ; but a comparison between the present state of trade and that prevailing in 1921 appears to me to show that India has come through this trial more successfully than many other countries and I am full of hope for the future. India has no real concern with luxury trade and the commodities dealt in are connected with every day needs. In this respect demand has revived—at lower prices it is true but in my view at healthier levels. There have been satisfactory monsoons and general prospects are far brighter. The balance of trade turned once more two years ago in India's favour. India's trade prosperity, in view of her large population and low average of individual buying power, depends on large quantities of goods circulating at low prices rather than on small movements at high prices. It is very noticeable that when prices of articles in common demand such as piece-goods rise sharply, the decrease in consumption is immediate. Whereas in 1920-21 the weight of goods exported from India, for which records are by weight, was a little under six million tons, in 1924-25 it had risen to ten and half million tons. Taking exports and imports of the same class of goods together, the volume of goods which left and entered India last year was 65 per cent. greater than the export and import totals of 1921. In value the figures of last year show that 1924-25 was the best trade year India has ever had ; the total value of imports and exports exceeded

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ed the striking figure of 650 crores. The indications are that the figures of the current year will be only slightly, if at all, lower than those of last year.

It is not easy to analyse the causes which have contributed to the notable change between the commercial situation in 1920-21 and the present day. To a large extent world conditions have contributed though, as I have already observed, I believe that conditions in India have improved more rapidly and in a more marked degree than in many other countries. Good monsoons have undoubtedly played a large part in the change; but the change has not been wholly fortuitous. A large measure of the alteration for the better is undoubtedly due to the grit and energy with which the commercial community in India have faced the problems before them and to the steps which my Government have been able to take for the improvement of the facilities for trade and industry; and it must not be forgotten that the improvement in the political situation has engendered a feeling of stability and continuity and restored confidence. Internal security has once more emboldened the timid to new ventures and revived the normal course of trade.

The improvement in the general revenue position of the country in the last five years has been no less striking. In April 1921, my Government were struggling with the financial difficulties consequent on the war. The great rise in prices, the heavy charges involved in the increased pay of establishments and the special expenditure incurred in the defence of our frontiers added enormously to our expenditure. We had a deficit in each of the years 1919-20, 1920-21 and 1921-22 of over 20 crores. In 1922-23 the deficit was 15 crores. The position has now completely changed. Not only has the budget been balanced: but last year we

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were able to show a surplus of over two crores and a beginning was made with the reduction of provincial contributions ; and the general financial position of the provincial Governments is now substantially better than it was five years ago. We have also been able to suspend the cotton excise duty with the confident hope of being in a position to remit it entirely during the next Session of the Assembly. To these results Providence has contributed the gift of good monsoons ; but the present satisfactory financial outlook could hardly have been brought about even with these blessings except for the far-reaching and energetic campaign of retrenchment powerfully assisted by Sir Malcolm Hailey, then Finance Member. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Inchcape and his colleagues for the very valuable advice we received from the Committee over whose deliberations he so ably presided. I wish also to allude to the very ready and loyal help which I received in the reduction of military expenditure from the late Lord Rawlinson. Bearing fully in mind his great responsibilities for the efficiency of the defence of India, he nevertheless threw himself whole-heartedly into the search for avenues of economy and afforded the greatest assistance in furthering the end we had in view. The magnitude of the achievement and the searching nature of the enquiries may be realised by the figures. Expenditure was reduced in connection with the budget for civil expenditure for 1922-23 by 8 crores and 35 lakhs. The budget estimates for military expenditure in the same year amounted to $67\frac{3}{4}$ crores. The figures for net military expenditure after introduction of the economies advised by the Committee have been in 1922-23 65.3 crores : in 1923-24 56.2 crores and in 1924-25 55.6 crores.

The great improvement in our financial position may be measured not only by our balanced budget but by the marked

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amelioration in the credit of the Government of India in the loan market. In this and many other improvements in our financial arrangements the skill, energy and experience of Sir Basil Blackett, my present Finance Member, have been of the greatest value. A few years ago we had a floating debt of over 50 crores of treasury bills outstanding. These have been repaid. We have been able to borrow at progressively better rates; and in the current year we have dispensed with a cash loan in this country and in England and have been able to fund, on what appear to be satisfactory terms, a substantial proportion of the short term debt maturing in the near future. The recently published report of the External Capital Committee has laid stress on the importance of developing India's own latent sources of wealth to assist her material development. I hope for a notable advance in this respect and look in this direction for the solution to a considerable extent of the problem of financing the development of the country. To this, creation of the Imperial Bank established in January 1921 has already materially contributed. I have watched the development of this institution during the past 5 years with constant interest. It has benefitted the trade of the country to a great degree already by the extension of branches, by centralising for employment in the interests of trade the Government balances in a manner which was impossible before its creation, and by the provision of increased facilities for remittance. It has already taken its place among the great banks of the world and I am confident of the success awaiting it in the future.

The last 5 years have been marked by great energy in administrative reorganisation and constructive legislation. The war had necessarily impeded progress in both these directions. In no direction perhaps has this advance been more remarkable than in the case of railways. Following upon

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the recommendations of the Acreworth Committee and the advice of the Inchcape Committee, reorganisation has been set on foot which has raised the railways from a state of inefficiency and of being a charge to the State to a position where they provide an adequate return on capital invested and efficiently cope with the growing needs for transportation. The stages of this change are to be found in decision of the Legislature to provide a steady annual grant for 5 years for capital expenditure, the reorganisation of the Railway Department under Sir Clement Hindley, Chief Commissioner for Railways, effective economy in current expenditure, the separation of Railway finance from general finances, the establishment of reserve and depreciation funds and the adoption of a forward policy in the construction of new lines of a remunerative character. Among these measures I class as of special importance the separation of railway finances. I cannot too highly praise the good sense which the Legislature brought to bear on the discussion of this measure. It enables the Railway administration on the one hand to pursue a steady policy of extension and improvement, while it secures to the State a regular and increasing return from railway investments. The acceptance of the principle that railway profits, so long as the State is assured of a moderate return on capital invested, should be utilised for railway purposes, is of primary importance to the efficiency and development of the railway systems of the country and the general prosperity of the country itself. Time will not permit me to enter into the numerous improvements effected or under contemplation. It will suffice to let the figures speak for themselves. With the progress in rehabilitation and extensions the number of tons of goods originating on railway has increased from 63½ million tons in 1921-22 to 87 million tons last year, while ton miles increased from 17,700 million in 1921-22 to over 21,000 million in 1924-25.

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On the financial side the working of railways in 1921-22 formed a very heavy charge on the revenues of the country. All this is now changed. The net profits after paying all interest charges amounted to 1 crore and 22 lakhs in 1922-23, to 6·47 crores in 1923-24 and 13·05 crores in 1924-25. While my Government are conscious there is much still to be done in improving railway facilities in relation to passengers and goods and generally, there is every reason to be satisfied with the remarkable progress made, reflecting great credit on those responsible for railway administration.

In connection with commerce and industry a number of other constructive measures have been put into execution. I need only refer to two of them. The members of your Chamber are well acquainted with the history of the Fiscal Commission and the operation of the Tariff Board which had its origin in that Commission's recommendations. These measures were of great interest in the constitutional aspect from their connection with a convention recommended for adoption to His Majesty's Government by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in order to secure a greater measure of freedom for India in working out her own fiscal policy. Protection is a difficult subject and has its critics in principle and practice. Protection in India however is given for definite periods only, and the whole question is subject to discussion and reconsideration periodically at the proper moment. Meanwhile the Tariff Board may be congratulated on the great care and thoroughness with which they conduct their enquiries. The recommendations of the Board are also minutely scrutinised by the Legislature. As a result no protection is given until a case for help has been thoroughly made out and has stood the test of public examination. The amount of assistance to be given is also very rigidly tested by my Government

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and cannot be described in any case as erring on the side of undue generosity.

I have given personal attention to the complaints about delays in judicial proceedings and in the execution of decrees which are specially vexatious in commercial suits. The recommendations which Sir George Rankin's Committee have made have proved of the greatest value. Several suggestions have already been put into effect; and other reforms recommended in civil procedure are under discussion with the Local Governments and High Courts. I confidently look for a considerable degree of improvement in method of procedure as the outcome.

The past 5 years have been a period of considerable activity in constructive legislation. After full enquiry and in consultation with the trades concerned, legislation has been passed to improve methods of trading in cotton and coal. The Cotton Cess Act has also become law which is intended to facilitate developments both in the quality and production of Indian cotton in the interests of traders, mill-owners and agriculturists. An Insurance Bill is in circulation for opinion and will, I trust, receive most careful study and thought in commercial circles. Measures for the training and registration of auditors to ensure a higher standard of profession, training and practice, so necessary in view of the expansion of Joint Stock Companies in India, are also under consideration and commercial opinion on the proposals will be shortly invited. The administration of shipping and ports also is receiving most careful attention. A Shipping Bill has been prepared as a first instalment to deal with coastal lighting. The rules with regard to the safety of life on ships at Sea and the carriage of deck passengers have been entirely overhauled and brought into consonance with modern requirements.

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The last 5 years have seen remarkable progress in labour legislation. Indeed more has been accomplished in the period than in the whole preceding generation. There has been a radical revision of the Factories Act, introducing a 60 hours week, the exclusion of children between the ages of 9 and 12, the abolition of night work for women and other reforms. The new Mines Act enforces somewhat similar reforms, a curtailment of hours, a weekly rest day and the stoppage of child work. Antiquated legislation dealing with breaches of workman's contract has been repealed. The Workman's Compensation Act has introduced for the first time a comprehensive system for alleviating hardship caused by industrial accidents. A Bill to encourage and protect healthy Trades Union Organisation is before the Assembly. The question of providing means of conciliation in trade disputes has been thoroughly explored, but it would be premature to legislate on this question until the Trades Union Bill has become law. In the measures we have adopted the employers have been fully taken into our confidence in the preliminary stages ; and their readiness to co-operate, even where their immediate interests were to some degree prejudiced, is most laudable. Some may think that the pace of reform in labour legislation has been unduly rapid ; but our action has followed that adopted by most civilised countries and is in accordance with principles which will scarcely be disputed. The measures placed on the Statute book have been, in my view, well considered. They were designed to meet genuine needs and to remedy admitted defects. I am convinced that public opinion generally will regard them, as experience in working the rules is gained as not only necessary when judged by ethical standards and directly beneficial to the workers concerned, but as actually advantageous also to industry generally.

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I cannot pass from the subject without placing on record my high appreciation of the valuable assistance I have received from Sir Charles Innes, Member in charge of the Departments of Commerce and Railways. He has brought the highest qualities to bear on the difficult problems that faced him throughout those years and has addressed himself to the solution of these intricate questions with the most laudable energy and with great gifts of perception, intuition and sympathy. In all measures his efforts have been most ably seconded by Mr. Chadwick the Secretary in the Department. I am also greatly indebted to the Member in charge of the Department of Industries and Labour, formerly Sir A. Chatterjee, our High Commissioner for India in London, and now Sir B. N. Mitra. It has been a period of busy constructive work in the Department and I am convinced that the greatest care and foresight have been exercised in dealing with the difficult measures which have been introduced to the lasting benefit of the industrial expansion of India.

When I passed the last 4½ years in review, I naturally fell into speculation as to what the years to come hold in store, from what angle of view will the businessman be justified in regarding future prospects for trade in India, and to what lessons do the dramatic events of the past quinquennium point. I felt that in a period in which the prices of many commodities are still falling, my review might seem to take too optimistic a direction. All trades and industries have not yet recovered the stability which characterised commerce in pre-war years. In certain industries there are still adjustments of prices needed before consumption approaches pre-war standards. It may indeed be urged that though the volume of trade is increasing, it is still hard to

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get business and there is little profit in it when obtained. Nevertheless I do believe that even if it is harder to get, there is business in plenty to be done. Recovery may be slow. It must be slow after acute depression, but a slow and sure general progress is far better than short spells of dramatic profits in a few trades. I am convinced that the change in the past five years has been radical and is wholly salutary. Conditions are settling down steadily but surely to a stable situation—the best seed bed for trade to grow. Perhaps the margin of profit may not be large ; but the bulk of the business is there. Let me once more remind you that the total value of imports and exports last year reached the striking figure of 650 crores. Every day communications and transport facilities are opening up and remittance resources and other machinery for trading are improving. Full stability, I admit, is not to be secured until it is also established in other trading countries of the world, but the pact of Locarno will, I am confident, help to remove obstacles and the day is in sight when the people of the world will once more be in a position to devote their attention to the peaceful avocation of Trade and Commerce. Meanwhile the lessons of the past years show that in Government and business alike the new conditions call again as in the past for continuous application, for unceasing attention and unremitting energy, that when the day comes India may maintain her high and honoured place in the great comity of the Trading Countries of the world.

Gentlemen, I must now bid you good-bye. I leave you with confidence in the future of the commerce and industry of India, and I cordially wish you and those associated with you from the highest to the lowest, all good future and prosperity.

ANNUAL DINNER OF THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION AT
CALCUTTA.

15th Dec-
ember
1925.

In replying to the toast of the health of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, His Excellency said :—

Sir Hubert Carr, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Let me thank the European Association for the very cordial welcome which has been extended to me to-night and the kind references you have made to Her Excellency Lady Reading. I know she deeply regrets that the state of her health, now fortunately on the mend, prevents her from being present to enjoy your hospitality to-night. She would have been greatly touched to hear the appreciation of her practical interest in philanthropic work and sympathy with suffering humanity to which Sir Hubert Carr has given expression; and it will be a cause of deep satisfaction to her to know that her efforts in this direction have earned the good-will and gratitude of the community your Association represents.

This is the fourth occasion I have had the privilege of addressing the Members of the European Association; I also regret to say it will be the last. Some of those present to-night may recall the observations made by me in December 1922 when I first met the Members of the Association. You, Sir Hubert, then informed me that your Association had accepted the *fait accompli* of the reforms and that you had decided willingly and loyally to assist in carrying into effect those promises which His Majesty's Government had made and to which all political parties in Great Britain were pledged. You added that the Association would take an active part in the political life of India and that you were convinced that the only wise course for your community was to seek to be represented as other communities were represented in the reformed scheme of Government and to keep the views and interests for which your Association stood prominently before the country and the Government.

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I then expressed and now repeat my gratification at this decision ; and it has been a source of great satisfaction to me in the years which have since passed to see your Association growing in strength and organisation and taking a leading part in public life and in the discussion of all questions of importance to India's future. Whatever differences of opinion there may have been as to the exact form and extent of the great first march forward of India along the road to responsible Government, it was but natural that the members of your Association sprung from the ancient home of self-governing institutions, members of a great Empire fostered on these principles, would wish to leave behind them in India, after their long association with her, some impress of those benefits and advantages which the Homeland and the great British Dominions so abundantly enjoy. I rejoiced then and rejoice now that you were determined, in your legitimate pride of British Rule and the British connection in India, to help India to share in those great traditions in which you yourselves had been nurtured and to assist her forward stage by stage to their final expression. Your participation had a special value as you were in a position to spread abroad not only the knowledge of the benefits but also the spirit which underlies representative institutions and by which alone responsible Government can succeed.

As my time draws to a close and I look back on the events since April 1921, one of the most gratifying aspects of the reforms and not the least remarkable has been the spirit of their reception by non-official Europeans. There must have been some among the community who, regarding the reforms from the narrower point of view, could not have welcomed them at their inauguration, and who felt that their logical outcome must be to diminish British influence and the British element in the administration and must therefore be inimical to their interests. Nevertheless as you, Sir

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Hubert, have so clearly explained, the community as a whole with admirable sanity and generosity took the longer view; and not only have the reforms been loyally received by the community generally, but individual non-officials have taken a very prominent part in the new Legislatures. I have been deeply impressed by their devotion to these new activities, by their keen interest in the work of the administration and by their public spirit in service on Committees and Commissions. There is hardly a single measure of first class importance recently adopted by Government after enquiry by bodies of this nature, to which the European non-official community in India have not materially contributed. The part they have played in public life has followed the principles which are included in the articles of the constitution of your Association—"to foster relationship of cordiality and co-operation with Indians working constructively for the good of India."

Nor has this cordiality and co-operation with Indians been treated only as an ideal principle. I have been greatly impressed with the extent to which it has been put into practice by European non-officials. I cannot too highly praise the spirit of accommodation and reasonableness shown in connection with measures such as that relating to discriminative privileges in the Criminal Procedure Code. In other measures also, severely exercising Indian opinion, as for example the cotton excise duties, to which you—Sir Hubert—have referred, the European element has been prompt in expressing warm and genuine sympathy with the Indian point of view and in rejoicing when Indian aspirations have been fulfilled. Europeans have abundantly demonstrated their devotion to India in all that concerns her welfare, her position, her pride of place and her interests generally. The reforms called for two essential conditions—a will to co-operate and a will to succeed. The members of this Association

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have loyally striven to provide both. They have entered political life, cheerfully accepting the policy of His Majesty's Government and fully and actively determined, so far as they can, to assist in the execution of its object and purpose. Their action has been guided not merely by a desire to follow the policy because it is that of His Majesty's Government, but by a firm conviction, as you Sir Hubert have made clear, of the justice and necessity in the interests of India's welfare of meeting India's rational aspirations for political development.

In giving a reformed constitution to India the British Parliament called for co-operation and offered new opportunities for service. To both of these advances you have generously responded. I observe, Sir Hubert, that both you and I to-night have made frequent use of the term co-operation and as you rightly observe it seems to be used in different senses at times according to the fancy of the speaker. It is obvious, however, that you and I use the term in the same sense, for your definition of the word, though it may not be entirely comprehensive, is an interpretation to which I heartily subscribe. Co-operation does not entail continuous support of the policy of the Government but it does involve good-will towards the working of the constitution. Many Indians, including some of the most richly endowed with talent and perspicuity, have been steadfastly working for the same purpose. With them, on questions of first importance to India, you have usually found yourselves in agreement; and though at times you may differ sharply over individual measures, yet on the great issue of working the constitution in the interests of the peaceful progress and the welfare of India's people, you are at one. On occasions you find it necessary to criticise the actions of Government and sometimes differ from its conclusions. There is no question of your right and duty to press and sustain the convictions of your judgment and your conscience; but in the task of conducting

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the peaceful administration of the country and preserving law and order I and my Government have never looked for your support in vain.

While your Association and Constitutionalists among Indians have tried their utmost to give the right bias to public life and to influence thought in India in the right direction, others have elected to travel along a different road. For years educated opinion in India had agitated and clamoured for political advance. There is no question of the sympathy with which these aspirations were considered. Nevertheless what was nobly conceived and generously given, was rejected by a large section of Indians with contumely and scorn. The offer, made in the spirit of confidence and trust, was received with prejudice and suspicion. It stimulated some of the best friends of India, Indians and Europeans, to a keen desire to build and create, while it inflamed others with the passion to destroy. It gave rise in you to a will to co-operate and succeed, it engendered in others the determination to remain dissatisfied and obstructive. I shall not pause to analyse the reasons for this attitude of discontent among a large and powerful section of the community, or to recall unfortunate incidents especially in the years 1921 and 22. It wou'd serve no useful purpose and might even be misunderstood. I have no desire to reawaken the echos of the political agitation of those days. Yet I must freely admit that there has been much in the events of the last 4 years to try the patience of the members of your Association. I understand the feeling that good-will shown by you has not always been met with good-will to you that your co-operation and sympathy have not elicited a similar response at least in certain matters. In some directions there has been active prejudice against those very interests with which you are particularly connected and for which you stand. The principle of conduct of your Association to secure in true

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democratic spirit "Equal justice and freedom to all individuals" has not always evoked equally liberal sentiments from the other side; but let me remind you that if the past years have a lesson to convey it is the lesson of firmness and patience. Where a cause is just and reasonable, there is no occasion for dismay. No opportunity should be neglected of stating and supporting a just cause; but if this course is pursued, there should be no apprehension that justice will miscarry.

Throughout my actions I have been guided by this conviction and it has not caused me disappointment. I see no reason why it should not equally serve as a beacon to light your path. Nor can I conceive that there is any legitimate ground to fear any encroachment upon your civic freedom. The position as regards Europeans in the services and discrimination against Europeans in other spheres of activity is quite clear; but I may briefly restate the position.

As regards the public services it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration; and that policy is being loyally carried into effect by my Government. The extent to which it now operates has been made clear and definite by the measures taken by them with the approval of the Secretary of State to carry out the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The position, privileges and prospects of Europeans in the services have, at the same time, been clearly defined. As regards other measures it is the expressed intention as made plain in His Majesty's proclamation that in working the reforms there should be exercise of tolerance and mutual forbearance between all sections and races of his subjects; and leaders of the people and Ministers are expected to remember that the interest of the State is the paramount concern and that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries. In the instructions to

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Governors from His Majesty they are enjoined "to maintain standards by good administration, to encourage religious toleration, co-operation and good-will among all classes....and to promote all measures making for the moral, social and industrial welfare of the people and tending to fit *all* classes of the population *without distinction* to take their due share in the public life and Government of the country." Without going into the matter further it is obvious that the intention of His Majesty's Government precludes racial discrimination directed against any class in sharing the privileges and rights of citizenship or in taking part in the industrial or commercial activity of the country. Let me assure you that this intention stands no risk whatever of being misunderstood or forgotten. If I do not refer specifically to some of the points of detail regarding the services and the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces, it is not for want of interest but merely because these matters are still under consideration.

It is right and fitting that it is in *Calcutta* that I bid farewell to the European Association. No city in India can compare with Calcutta in the numbers of its European population. Long and honourable has been the British connection with this great city. We are proud to claim it as the second city in our Empire. Founded by British enterprise, developed by British energy, perfected by British and Indians working together, it stands a great monument of civilization and culture. Many of its interests are to-day controlled by Indians ; but no one can fail to regard it otherwise than as affording a great tribute to the British character, for it is a living example under their initiation and guidance of successful co-operation and of a happy fusion of the various interests of the two races in a common purpose. I cannot but find in this a good augury of India's future. Let me thank you once again for your hospitality to-night and during the past

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four years. These annual meetings with your Association have been a source of great pleasure to me and I am gratified to think that I leave your Association so firmly established. You may rest assured that I shall always cherish the expression of appreciation of your Association of such services as I have been able to render during my period of office. I am about to depart from India. If I may be permitted to say it, I am glad that I shall be succeeded by a distinguished gentleman whose personality and character have been acclaimed by all political parties in England and whose intellectual gifts led him in comparatively early life to a seat in the Cabinet. I am sure that he will be able to rely, as I have relied, on your sympathy and support. He will be able to feel, as I have felt, what an asset it is to India's future that your Association is loyally striving to work with Indians for constructive progress in India and that you bring to the common stock of Indian public life those standards of character and conduct which are your national pride, and that respect for law and order and that love of representative institutions which are your heritage.

19th Dec-
ember
1925.

DEPUTATION OF INDIANS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of Indians from South Africa this morning at Belvedere. Dr. Abdur Rahman leader of the Deputation presented a petition to the Viceroy dealing with the disabilities under which Indians in South Africa suffer and their apprehensions as regards the contemplated anti-Asiatic legislation. The petition ended with a prayer to His Excellency again to press the Union Government for a Round Table Conference. In the event of a refusal to entertain suggestion for Round Table Conference and the passing of the Bill inspite of the objection of Indians in South Africa and the representation of the Government of India the deputation further prayed His Excellency to secure the King Emperor's disallowance of the Bill in

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the terms of section 65 of the South Africa Bill. The text of His Excellency's reply is as follows :—

Dr. Abdur Rahman and Gentlemen.—I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting you here to-day and of discussing the grave situation to which you have referred in your petition and observations. I have read and examined an advance copy of your petition with great care and have listened with deep interest to the further observations with which you have now laid it before me. Let me assure you that I have watched the position of Indians in South Africa with anxiety and sympathy for some years past and have taken all measures, as opportunity offered from time to time, which appeared to me and my Government calculated to ameliorate their condition. I am deeply grieved at the present situation. It is natural that you should seek to ascertain at first hand in India the feelings of the people and Government of India on those questions and to fortify your cause with what you will undoubtedly carry away with you the warm sympathy of the people and Government of India. Great indignation has been felt and expressed in India and public opinion has been deeply pained by the status which the projected legislation in South Africa proposes to assign to Indians. It has been observed with apprehension that in introducing the Bill, Indians have been described as an alien element in the population of the Dominion and intentions have been expressed of solving the problem by securing a very considerable reduction in the Indian population of the Union.

Your deputation lays stress and rightly so on the necessity for a round table conference. This suggestion has been repeatedly pressed by me and my Government since it was first put forward by Mr. Thomas during his visit to South Africa. It has not, however as yet been accepted by the Government of South Africa. We urged the Government of South Africa in addition to agree to our despatching a deputation to South Africa to ascertain certain facts regarding the economic

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condition of Indians and the effect upon them of the contemplated legislation, so that we might be in the best position to make representations concerning these measures based on accurate local and latest information regarding the situation. Our concrete proposals regarding a deputation to that Government were made on the 9th of October last and accepted by that Government on the 10th November. We at once took steps to constitute a deputation and informed the Government of South Africa that we were despatching it on the 25th November. The first information of your deputation which we received was in a Reuter's telegram of the 19th November. The decision to send the Government deputation was thus reached before we had heard of your deputation. We attribute importance to our deputation both because of the information it may be expected to procure and because we desired to lose no time in taking advantage of the assent of the Union Government to its visit. Although in many respects it would undoubtedly have been preferable if these two deputations had not crossed each other yet there is no real duplication of functions as was once apprehended in a deputation from the Government of this country visiting South Africa at the same time as a deputation from Indians in South Africa visits India. The more light that can be shed on this difficult question the better. The fuller the understanding the more likely that some avenue may be found to remedy the situation. I and my Government greatly hope that the deputation we have sent to South Africa may collect facts and make suggestions which may serve as a basis for fresh proposals on lines to which the Union Government may be disposed to agree. We also confidently expect that your deputation may help us with some constructive suggestions of value to the same end.

I fully understand the depth of the feelings by which your community and Indian opinion generally is exercised : I do not underrate the strength of the apprehensions you entertain.

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Nevertheless whilst it is natural that you should present your cause with considerable vigour it must be remembered that the issue is now in South Africa. South Africa is a Dominion. Its Parliament has full power to pass legislation regarding its internal affairs. Feeling in South Africa is naturally sensitive to interference from outside in these affairs. I have never in my experience known a good case to suffer by sober presentation.

I and my Government emphatically hold that we have a right to make representations regarding measures prejudicial to Indians domiciled in South Africa. It is a duty from which we shall never shrink and we claim that our views should be heard and considered. We have reason to know that our right to make representations and be heard is not disputed by the Union Government. Indeed I gratefully acknowledge that they have on various occasions given effect to our suggestions. At the time we recognise the position of that Government must be respected and that no claim can be sustained by us of a right to interfere in their domestic affairs. Should the Union Government be unable in the end to accede to our request, we reserve to ourselves freedom to take such action as may seem desirable in the circumstances of the case. We have always kept His Majesty's Government fully informed through the Secretary of State for India of the strength of feeling in India on the question of Asiatic legislation in the Union and of our views on these questions.

I cannot consider the prospects hopeless. I believe that the Union Government will give careful consideration to our views, based as they are on facts and equitable consideration. It is evident that in the absence of Indian franchise, the Union Government recognise that they have a special responsibility for Indians in South Africa. The present Union Government have not yet carried any anti-Asiatic legislation. The Colour

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Bar Bill was rejected by the Senate. The fate of the present Bill is still undecided.

Let me remind you that I and my Government have very carefully watched all proposals in the past for anti-Asiatic legislation. We have kept the Union Government fully apprised of Indian sentiments regarding these measures and of the objections to them. They have just received our representatives with the greatest courtesy; and I gladly acknowledge that in the past action has frequently been taken to meet our suggestions regarding specific measures. I am not sure that it is generally recognised what the Union Government have done from time to time to meet representations made by my Government and the extent to which our protests and representations have achieved some success. Let me give a few instances.

First as regards Draft Ordinances to amend the Natal Townships Law of 1881 in such a way as to deprive Indians of the township franchise, various drafts were introduced in 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924, and regarding each in turn the Government of India cabled representations. The Governor-General in Council withheld assent to the first, reserved the second and fourth for further consideration, and the third was not proceeded with. The fifth Ordinance of 1925 received the sanction of the Governor-General in Council before our representations reached him. In 1925 also a draft Ordinance to consolidate the Natal Townships Law was introduced which would have had the effect of disfranchising Indians already on the electoral roll of townships. In response to our representation we have been informed that the Ordinance is standing over until next year and that when it is proceeded with, the franchise rights of Indians at present on the voter's roll will be adequately safeguarded.

Again as regards the Natal Boroughs Ordinance of 1925 we cabled representations. The Governor General in Council at

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first reserved the Bill for further consideration but ultimately assented on the ground that they were unwilling to curtail the power of a provincial council to deal with a purely domestic legislation.

Another instance is the Natal Rural Dealer's Licensing Ordinance. Various drafts were introduced all of which were likely adversely to affect the trading rights of Indians. The Governor General in Council withheld consent to the draft of 1921, reserved for consideration the draft of 1922 and assented to the draft of 1923 after explaining how far he had been able to go in meeting our wishes.

In the case of Durban Land Alienation Ordinance of 1922 we cabled representations. The Governor General in Council assented but instructed the Administrator in Natal to satisfy himself before approving racial restrictions in land sales, that Asiatics were given reasonable opportunity for acquiring adequate residential sites.

Take finally the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, 1925. The position is that the Government of India have already telegraphed very full representations regarding this Bill, which they consider of the utmost importance, and has received an assurance that their representations will receive the earnest consideration of the Ministers. It may also be noted that the Government of India have addressed a detailed despatch containing their views on the Asiatic Enquiry Commission's Report 1921. This despatch has given rise to a long correspondence in the course of which the Union Government have explained their general policy towards Asiatics. We are still engaged in discussion.

I freely admit that in some cases the representations of my Government have been unavailing, as for example, in the Natal Public Health Committee's Ordinance of 1923 and the Transvaal General Dealers Control Ordinance of 1925. In the case of the

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South African Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1925 also we made representations and though some changes were introduced to meet Asiatic susceptibilities, the principle of the Bill remained unchanged. Fortunately however the Bill was rejected in the Senate. In the case of the Class Areas Bill of 1924, we also made representations but the Bill lapsed owing to the dissolution of the Union Parliament.

I have said enough to show that I and my Government though not always successful, have been able to achieve something in the past and have every reason to believe that the Union Government will give the closest consideration to any proposals we may decide to put forward on this occasion. Our Deputation in South Africa is working to provide us with material to make and support our representation. We look to you also and shall welcome any constructive suggestions you are able to give us. The Member of my Government—Sir Mohammed Habibullah—in charge of this subject and the Secretary of the Department—Mr. Ewbank—are present here to-day. I invite you to keep in close touch with them and give your views as regards all clauses of the Bill and their effect upon Indians. This is not the place to go into questions of detail, but it is important that they should hear your views upon these questions also and discuss them with you.

You may be assured that any detailed criticisms of the Bill you have to offer will be most carefully examined by them. Both I and my Government will welcome your assistance in giving us through them concrete illustrations of the manner in which specific provisions adversely affect the position of Indians.

As I hope I have already made clear to you, you may rely on receiving a very sympathetic hearing from the officers of my Government. We shall carefully and anxiously consider the

Address of Welcome from the Shillong Municipal Board.

best course to follow. It would be premature on my part to attempt to indicate the exact measures we may adopt; but you may confidently count on my warm personal interest in your difficulties and on the sincere desire of my Government to find a way to remedy those anxieties by which you are now oppressed. You may already be aware, and if not, let me assure you that whatever the difference is that may exist in India on other political questions, there is unanimity of opinion regarding the position of Indians in South Africa. I and my Government believe that any representations that may be made and any action that may be taken in the interests of India and the Empire on behalf of the Indians in South Africa will have the wholehearted support of the people. No course which can legitimately and constitutionally be taken will be left unexplored and all reasonable measures calculated to ameliorate the situation will be taken.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SHILLONG MUNICIPAL BOARD. 6th January 1926,

In reply to the Address of Welcome from the Shillong Municipal Board His Excellency the Viceroy said—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—I thank you most cordially for the warm welcome you have extended to me on behalf of the Municipal Board and the people of Shillong on the occasion of my first visit to the headquarters of the Government of Assam. Her Excellency, Lady Reading, I feel sure, will greatly appreciate your kind references to her. It has been a great disappointment to her not to have been able to accompany me; and she would have been greatly interested in particular in those well-known medical institutions of which you have made mention in your address. I greatly regret that I have not found it possible before now to pay a visit to the Province and that circumstances compel me to restrict the scope of my present visit within somewhat narrow limits. But for the great pressure

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of public affairs on my time, I should have wished to give rein to my interests and inclinations and to have explored other parts of your Province and more especially the two important valleys in which the greater part of the population of the Province is concentrated.

Assam, it is true, may be classed among the smaller Provinces in India ; but nevertheless, abundantly blessed by nature and liberally irrigated by the monsoon rains and its waterways, it yields to none in natural resources and productivity, and it is a source of great gratification to me to see the Province in so prosperous a condition and to find among other satisfactory features the great tea industry for which it is justly renowned and on which in some aspects its prosperity to a great extent depends, in a flourishing condition. I am also impressed with the creditable feelings of pride which are shown in the position of the province and of the genuine anxiety of different classes to use the reforms to promote the welfare of its people in those directions which appear to them best calculated to benefit the future of the Province.

If I have been disappointed in not being able to see as much of Assam as I would have wished, at least I consider myself fortunate to have been able to meet in their own Province a number of the leading officials and non-officials of Assam and to have been able to visit this beautiful station, for the municipal amenities of which you are responsible.

I congratulate you on the zeal which animates your outlook in your duties. It must indeed be a labour of love to exercise your energies and functions on behalf of those you represent, when the object on which they are expended is the good administration of the civic affairs of a town, so richly endowed by Providence with the advantages of good climate and natural beauties and of such importance as being the headquarters of your Province.

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I have listened with interest to your observations regarding the improvement of the communications between Shillong and the railhead. I believe that the survey undertaken for a railway line some years ago showed at that time that a scheme for a connecting railway could not be classed as a remunerative project ; but I have no doubt that the Government of Assam will give the most sympathetic attention to any project which may be feasible for the improvement of communications between Shillong and the plains whether by the use of electricity or otherwise.

Let me dwell for a moment on one or two questions, which though not referred to in your address, confined as it necessarily is to municipal topics, will, I believe, be of interest to you and to the people of the Province generally. In the first place I am gratified to state that His Excellency the Governor has given me a satisfactory account of the working of the reforms in the Province. It is inevitable that in a Province with so many varied interests as Assam, difference of opinion must occasionally arise between the executive Government and the Legislature ; but Sir John Kerr testifies to the amicable spirit by which the Legislature has been animated during the past 5 years and to the genuine desire shown in most quarters to work the constitution in the interest of the welfare of the Province and to carry on the reformed administration in the right spirit. I am indeed gratified to know that a sense of responsibility is growing up and is guiding the Legislature to form considered conclusions and that generally speaking the people of Assam are taking advantage of those new opportunities of service to the Province for which the reforms give scope.

No question of greater local importance is likely to come before the Provincial Legislature in the near future, than the question regarding the transfer of Sylhet which, I understand, is now to be debated. I have read the proceedings of the

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Bengal Legislative Council on this question and shall await the results of the debates in the Assam Legislative Council with interest. Obviously it would be premature for me to attempt at this stage to give any forecast of the view my Government may take. The opinion of both the Government of Bengal and the Government of Assam, with the proceedings of their Legislatures, must reach my Government before this important question relating to a transfer from this Province of a large district with approximately 2 million inhabitants can be adequately examined. Whatever conclusions my Government may adopt after examination must also be reported to the Secretary of State before any final orders can issue. I can say no more at present. I am confident that the Assam Legislature will approach the question with a full sense of its importance and will carefully weigh all considerations affecting the welfare of the people principally concerned and the interests of the Province.

I observe that public attention has been particularly directed to the question of temperance in this Province ; and I have heard with interest and sympathy of the much needed efforts which are being made by Government and non-official agencies to promote the cause of temperance in the consumption of opium. I trust that the good sense of all parties will conduce to an early solution of this difficult problem which will be of lasting benefit to this Province.

As far as is possible I and my Government have kept a watchful eye on the needs of Assam and tried to assist the Province whenever possible. This year we were able to give Assam a non-recurring remission of 6 lakhs of the Provincial contribution ; an arrangement has now been made, by which the minimum limit of surplus balance, deposited with the Government of India for the purpose of earning interest has been reduced, to meet the special circumstances of Assam, from 25

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lakhs originally fixed to 10 lakhs. I trust that this measure also will be found to be helpful.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and your kind welcome. I feel sure that I shall take away most pleasant recollections of my visit to Assam and to Shillong in particular. I wish the people of this Province all prosperity and am confident that a prosperous future awaits Assam under the able and sympathetic guidance of Sir John Kerr.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, DELHI SESSION.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly on the morning of the 20th January and delivered the following speech :—

20th
January
1926.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,—*Let me welcome the Members of the Legislative Assembly to the labours of another Session. My usual practice at the beginning of a Session, as you are aware, is to address the Indian Legislature as a whole ; but on this occasion the state of business does not warrant the summoning of the Council of State before the end of the first week in February ; and in consequence I decided that I would not wait until then, but would arrange to meet the Members of the Assembly on the opening day of their Session and address them. I hope to address the Legislature as a whole later in the Session.

This is the first occasion on which I have addressed you since the election and appointment of your new President ; and I take this opportunity of congratulating him on the very important office which he now occupies. He has my best wishes in the exercise of his functions and responsibilities. Let me also observe that he has my understanding sympathy. It may appear to some a light task to discharge these duties with an easy grace ; but I realise, as I am sure the Hon'ble

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President has long since become aware, that no task presents more difficulty than to treat all Members sympathetically while displaying partiality to none.

Before passing to other questions I may observe that, anticipating the feelings of this Chamber, and, I believe, the feelings of all sections of the people in India, I sent a message to His Majesty the King-Emperor on hearing of Queen Alexandra's death offering him on behalf of India the deepest sympathy in his loss. Though the people of India were never privileged to see the late Queen Alexandra, I know that precious memories are treasured in India of her gracious actions as Queen-Empress and of her life of active sympathy with suffering humanity in later years. From the many messages which reached me from all quarters in India, I perceived that the news of her death was received with widespread sorrow by the Princes and people of India, and that universal sympathy went out to His Majesty in his bereavement.

I am glad to be able to inform you that friendly relations are being maintained with the Kingdoms of Afghanistan and Nepal and with our other neighbours upon our borders. Nothing has occurred to mar the general tranquillity of the situation with tribes upon our North-West Frontier and steady progress is taking place towards pacification in Waziristan.

I invite the attention of the Members of the Assembly to the interim report of the Indian delegation to the sixth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations. The report appears to me to be of very special interest not only because of the business transacted at the last meeting of the Assembly of the League but also because the report strives to make clear the special interests of India in the League and the attitude which in the view of our delegates is best calculated

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to advance those interests and to give India a prominent position in the League. I think Members will welcome the statement in the report regarding the allocation of expenses and of appointments in the Secretariat of the League. A number of the suggestions made will require examination before decisions can be reached in regard to them ; but the report is a valuable document, well-worthy of study.

As regards internal conditions in India, on the 14th of December last at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, I passed in review at some length the general course of trade in the present year and made some observations on trade and industries and the general revenue conditions during the past five years. I need not traverse this ground again ; since the war trade and industry, it is true, are suffering in every part of the world ; but let me again express my conviction, based on a very careful scrutiny of conditions and I believe free from any undue optimism, that the change for the better in the past five years in India has been radical, the new tendencies appear to me to be salutary and conditions in my view are settling down to a stable situation favourable to slow but sure general progress in the course of trade and industry. In a vast country of the size of India and Burma, it is only rarely that seasonal conditions can be uniformly favourable to the operations of agriculture in every Province ; and in the past season they have not been favourable everywhere ; but there is no cause at present for general anxiety, though any conditions affecting agriculture prejudicially must always command very close attention, as it is the staple industry of the country.

When I last addressed you, I made some observations regarding agriculture, the research work conducted by the Central Government and the activities of the Provincial Governments and the need for co-ordination of all efforts

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connected with this great All-India interest. Since then Government of India have been in communication with the Secretary of State who has always shown the greatest interest in agricultural problems in India and the Provincial Governments upon this important question; and after discussion with the Provincial administrations, I and my Government have made concrete proposals to the Secretary of State which His Majesty's Government have been pleased to accept and which I will now announce.

In our examination of the problem it appeared clear that striking progress had been made in recent years in promoting the science of agriculture and introducing improvements, and that both the central institutions in charge of the Government of India and the Departments in the Provinces under the charge of Local Governments and their Ministers had every reason to be proud of the results of their activities and the sum total of their achievements. Nevertheless it seemed to be beyond dispute that in view of the great importance of the industry to India and of the large numbers of the population engaged in it, there was room for even greater and more extensive co-ordination of effort towards agricultural improvement. It would be clearly wrong to leave any possible step untried in making available to those concerned in the industry the fruits of the latest scientific and practical knowledge. Nothing which held out any promise of amelioration in conditions should obviously be left unexplored. It cannot be gainsaid that the average standard of production and the general level of rural welfare in India is lower than that prevailing in other countries where for some time past there has been marked concentration on agricultural problems. Agricultural practice also in many parts of India is admittedly still backward and primitive and the bulk of the agricultural population is generally unversed in methods of improvement found success-

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ful elsewhere. The situation evidently called for a remedy of a comprehensive nature; and measures for strengthening and expanding activities by co-ordination and for examining methods of applying the results of experience in other countries to the solution of our agricultural problems in India were patently required. We arrived at the provisional conclusion that it was unlikely that a Central Board of Agriculture in India could carry out the precise objects which must fall within the scope of such an enquiry; the latter to be successful must embrace a review of all the activities of the Central and local Governments in connection with agriculture and scrutinise conditions from a new angle of view. It appeared to me and my Government that the requirements of the situation could only be met by the appointment of a Royal Commission, so constituted as to include members from outside India possessing knowledge and experience of agriculture in other countries together with members from India with local knowledge of agriculture and rural economy and in full sympathy with the Indian agricultural population.

The Secretary of State expressed sympathy with our provisional views and authorised us to consult Local Governments regarding the appointment of a Royal Commission and seek their advice regarding terms of reference. As regards the latter the scope of the enquiry was a question of considerable importance. There was no intention to interfere with the control of the local Governments over the subject of agriculture which in most of its aspects is both provincial and transferred. The object in view was to supplement, not to curtail, provincial activities. Draft terms of reference were accordingly circulated for discussion which kept those essential points in view, while enabling a Commission to make recommendations which would be of value to the Ministers responsible for the administration of Agriculture in the local Governments as well to the Central Agencies connected with agricultural research under the

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Government of India. Another class of subjects also entered into our consideration, during the examination of suggested terms of reference, in which local Governments were primarily and directly interested and which had in a sense a definite connection with rural conditions. These subjects included questions connected with landownership and tenure, rates of land-revenue assessments and irrigation charges. It appeared undesirable and unnecessary to invite a Commission, primarily devoted to examination and report regarding agricultural improvement, to burden their enquiry by exploration into these subjects for the purpose of making recommendations regarding them.

The local Governments' replies showed substantial agreement on the question of the necessity for the appointment of a Royal Commission and on the scope of the enquiry and the questions to be included in the terms of reference. In addressing the Secretary of State we also advised that the Commission be instructed to place themselves in communication with the local Governments in their visit to a Province and to carry on their investigations and to take evidence in close consultation with the Ministers responsible for Agriculture, the co-operative movement and the other subjects coming under their consideration, and we made in addition some subsidiary explanations of the questions which in our view fell within the purview of the terms of reference we suggested. His Majesty the King-Emperor on the advice of his Secretary of State has now approved the appointment of a Royal Commission the purpose of which has to-day been announced in the following terms :—

“ Generally—

to examine and report on the present conditions of agriculture and rural economy in British India and to make recommendations for the improvement of

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agriculture and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population ;

and in particular, to investigate—

- (a) the measures now being taken for the promotion of agriculture and veterinary research, experiment, demonstration and education, for the compilation of agricultural statistics, for the introduction of new or better crops and for improvement in agricultural practice, dairy farming and the breeding of stock ;
- (b) the existing methods of transport and marketing of agricultural produce and stock ;
- (c) the method by which agricultural operations are financed and credit afforded to agriculturists ;
- (d) the main factors affecting rural prosperity and the welfare of the agricultural population and to make recommendations.

It will not be within the scope of the Commission's duties to examine the existing system of land ownership and tenancy, or of the assessment of land-revenue and irrigation charges, or the existing division of functions between the Government of India and the local Governments. But the Commission shall be at liberty to suggest means whereby the activities of the Government of India may best be co-ordinated and to indicate directions in which the Government of India may usefully supplement the activities of local Governments."

The *personnel* is receiving the attention of the Secretary of State and will be announced later.

In my view this decision embodies a measure of cardinal importance in the interests of the premier industry of India and of its people, the great majority of whom live directly by agricultural operations or by occupations connected with the

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disposal of agriculture produce. The purpose it has in view, I feel sure, will commend itself to every class and creed and to all shades of opinion in this country. Its mission is wholly beneficent. It can bring nothing but advantage to the country as a whole and to those classes of the people whose interests must always be of supreme importance to both the Central and Provincial Governments. If it results, as I trust it may, in bringing to many thousands of homes a somewhat greater share in the wealth of this world, a higher degree of comfort and self-respect and a better basis for self-improvement and progress, I and my Government will be amply rewarded for our part in bringing it into existence.

Let me now turn to a question which I know is uppermost in the minds of the Members of the Legislature and which is causing me and my Government most anxious thought. I need not recapitulate the whole situation as regards the position of Indians in South Africa, but I may observe that out of the total number of the Indian community in South Africa, about one-third approximately 102,000, are South African born and are the descendants of indentured labourers in Natal who were permitted to settle in the country on the expiration of their indentures. These people have made South Africa their home. I need not refer at length to the disabilities which have been imposed upon Indians in South Africa and are already in existence. They are of a serious and varied nature and embrace galling social disabilities, restrictions on the acquisition of political and municipal franchise except in the Cape, regulations regarding inter-provincial movements, licensing laws and restrictions on the acquisition of land. There has been continuous progress in legislation in South Africa prejudicial to the position of Indians and tending to make it increasingly difficult for them to prosper or even to exist in the Dominion. Against this legislation, my Government has made repeated representations with varying

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degrees of success. In reply to an address recently presented to me by a deputation from South Africa I have dwelt on the representations made by my Government regarding past legislation in some detail and I need not traverse this part of the history again.

In addition to these disabilities, further anti-Asiatic legislation has been recently introduced and is now pending before the Union Parliament. The purpose of this legislation is to empower urban authorities compulsorily to segregate Indians and to confine their rights of trading and of acquiring property to the limits of the areas assigned to them. The Bill also contains further restrictive provisions regarding the acquiring or leasing of land outside the coastal belt in Natal, immigration, importation of wives and families and inter-provincial movements. The principle of segregation is not new. It was recognised by a Transvaal Act of 1885, but it was not rigidly applied. Such locations as arose as a result of that Bill led the Asiatic Committee to condemn the compulsory principle. Indian sentiment has always been strenuously opposed to compulsory segregation as inflicting a racial stigma. It is felt to be a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement and a repudiation of a policy believed to have been established consequent on the recommendations of the Asiatic Enquiry Committee. The principle has been denounced by the Government of India ; and in Kenya, His Majesty's Government have decided that it is not to be applied in townships. The Bill therefore contains what appears to my Government to be a radically objectionable principle ; and the existing aversion to this policy has been intensified by the statement of Dr. Malan in introducing the Bill in the Union Assembly last July when he said that the measure was based on the general proposition that the Indian was an alien element in the population of the Union, and that no solution of the question would be acceptable unless it resulted in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population.

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I and my Government have kept His Majesty's Government in continuous and close touch with our general views regarding the position of Indians in the Union and this Bill in particular and with the strength of the feeling which the general disabilities imposed on Indians in South Africa and this measure in particular have evoked ; we have also made it clear that we fully sympathise with the sentiment which all classes in India have expressed on these questions.

Since April last we have been in continuous correspondence with the Government of the Union regarding this legislation and communications are still passing ; we have repeatedly pressed upon them the suggestion that the situation in our view calls for a Conference as regards their general policy towards Indians ; in the alternative we invited them to make other suggestions likely to result in a permanent and satisfactory settlement. The Union Government have not found themselves able to agree to our proposals for a Conference, although they seemed inclined to agree to a Conference restricted to the consideration of a more effective repatriation scheme which in their words will result in "a considerable reduction of the Indian population in South Africa" and to proposals for the mitigation of economic competition between Indians and other classes in South Africa and they asked us to formulate concrete suggestions regarding the latter. We could not accept a Conference whose main object would be to reduce considerably the numbers of Indians in South Africa. We were however prepared to consider the possibility of smoothing any difficulties that may have been found in their existing scheme of purely voluntary repatriation and to make suggestions regarding vocational employment when we had sufficient data ; but we asked for assent, before entering upon any discussion about voluntary repatriation or making suggestions regarding competition, to our sending a deputation to South Africa to collect information regarding

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the economic and general position of Indians in the Union. On November the 10th the Union Government acceded to this request and we forthwith despatched our deputation, the purpose of which has been announced and published. In sending the deputation, the immediate object we had in mind was the collection of information urgently required by us and we still kept in view the possibility of a Conference to which we attach the greatest weight. Some criticism was at first directed in India to the despatch of our deputation. This was chiefly based on the fact that news of the visit of a deputation of Indians from South Africa was received about the same time ; but in fact our decision to send a deputation was reached long before the arrival of the first news of the deputation from South Africa which only came to us in a Reuter's telegram on November 19th just before it sailed. It was obviously desirable for us to take immediate advantage of the assent of the Union Government to the visit of our deputation. We desired in the first place to lose no time in collecting information which would enable us to deal with the suggestions of the Union Government. We were faced besides with this critical situation that it was contemplated in South Africa to proceed at an early date in the new year with this Bill ; it was therefore essential that we should at once take steps to put ourselves in possession of facts which would enable us to make effective representations before the Bill passed to the second reading stage and became accepted in principle. The interim reports received from the deputation have given us valuable information ; and the deputation has collected facts which have been most useful to us in our representations and may assist in suggesting eventually a basis for fresh proposals. We still do not despair of persuading the Union Government that there is the strongest ground for a Conference or in the alternative for an enquiry before further Parliamentary steps are taken in regard to the pending legislation. The deputation had to be

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hurriedly despatched ; this was inevitable in the circumstances ; and I cannot too highly commend the expedition with which the members left India at very short notice and got to work on their task at a crisis when a delay of a few days even was a matter of very great moment. Dr. Abdur Rahman's deputation is engaged on a different task and is putting the cause of Indians in South Africa before the Government and the people of India on behalf of the section of public opinion in South Africa which it represents. Its purpose is not therefore identical with the object of ours. Moreover, the deputation from South Africa has been able to supply me and my Government with facts of considerable importance and to explain points which, in the absence of local information, may previously have been imperfectly appreciated or understood.

The whole question at the moment is at the stage of negotiation. Bear in mind that in our attitude towards the position of Indians in South Africa and to the principle of the latest legislation, I and my Government are at one with the general feelings in India. You may have confidence that we are striving our utmost to find a basis of discussion with the Union Government before the latter are committed to the principle of the Bill. The question has now to be dealt with in South Africa ; and it must be remembered that the Government and the Ministry of the Union are responsible to their electorate ; and that this legislation is regarded by them as domestic in its character. We have never doubted the right of South Africa to guide the course of their own domestic and economic legislation ; but in our view there are far wider considerations involved in this legislation than local economic policy alone. In our opinion they have an important bearing upon the Empire as a whole. The proposed measures are not in our view in accordance with those principles which bind the Empire together in community of sentiment, and we hope that this aspect of the proposals may yet commend itself to

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South African opinion. Even on the narrower issue of economic necessity we believe, from the information now received by us, that the situation may be capable of adjustment in other ways. Our negotiations are still proceeding and we shall continue to press our views to the utmost of our ability. We cannot say whether we shall succeed in our endeavours; but I hope that a cause which, as it appears to us, has reason and equity on its side, will ultimately prevail. Meanwhile I rely on the Legislature to give me and my Government their confidence and support in a question upon which they are aware that our sentiments are agreed, and especially to remember, as I gratefully acknowledge they have hitherto borne in mind, that we are still in the course of negotiation with the Government of the Union in whose hands the initiative in conducting their own legislative programme lies. The principle of the Bill has not yet been finally accepted, and I hope that a basis of discussion with the Union Government may be arrived at which will give opportunity of stating and proving our case before any question arises of proceeding with that stage of the legislation.

To-day I shall refer to a few only of the many questions about to engage your attention during this Session.

The abolition of the cotton excise duty has always excited the lively interest of the Indian Legislature and naturally because all shades of opinion in India are agreed as to the necessity for the abolition of the duty. My Government have always stood by the pledge given by Lord Hardinge that the duty would be abolished when financial considerations rendered this action possible. When this Assembly again discussed this question last September and passed a resolution in favour of the suspension of the duty with full cognisance that suspension would involve abolition, my Government were not prepared on the insufficient data regarding the financial situation available at

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that time to commit themselves to action which must be followed by the abolition of the duty in the ensuing budget. By the end of November, however, when the prospects of the year were more fully declared and more detailed estimates were available of financial probabilities, it appeared to my Government that no serious financial risk would be incurred by suspending the duty, and I took steps forthwith by the issue of an Ordinance, bearing in mind the desire expressed by the Chamber in their resolution of September last, to suspend the levy and collection of the cotton excise duty with effect from the 1st of December; at the same time I announced that it was the intention of my Government, unless the financial position disclosed in the budget estimate for next year substantially failed to confirm anticipations, to place before the Legislature at the next Session proposals for the abolition of the duty. It has been asserted that my Government could not accept immediately the proposal of the Assembly in September because the Secretary of State was opposed to it. There is no foundation for this statement. The decision was that of my Government based upon financial considerations only. The proposal to suspend was not submitted to the Secretary of State until November when we had more reliable data upon which to base our conclusions. As regards the issue of the Ordinance suspending the duty, I may explain that I held myself entitled to pronounce that an emergency justifying its issue had occurred because of grave difficulties confronting the cotton industry at the time, because of the pledges given by my Government to do away with the duty at the earliest moment financial considerations permitted, and because of the views in favour of early action so clearly expressed in this Chamber in the September Session. It is a source of satisfaction to me to have been able to take the first step towards the elimination of an impost which public opinion in India has so universally condemned. It will rest with the Legislature to give sanction to its permanent disappear-

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ance. From the course of the September Debates, I and my Government understand that the Assembly have approved of the principle that the abolition of the excise duty should take precedence over the remissions of Provincial contributions. I mention this point that there may be no misconception as regards the consequence of the action of the Assembly.

From my discussions on legal affairs while I have been in India, I have been greatly impressed with the very high regard and esteem in which the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council are universally held in this country in connection with their Indian appellate work. Full credit for this public opinion is due in no small measure to the two distinguished Members of that Committee who have brought their experience and knowledge of Indian law to bear upon the problems submitted to them. I and my Government share the general opinion of the very valuable services rendered to India by these two Members of the final Court of Appeal ; and we desire to ensure that India shall continue to benefit in the future from a system the advantages of which have been so unmistakably demonstrated. In order to perpetuate the benefits of the scheme it is desired in future appointments to secure persons from India of eminent qualifications as regards knowledge and experience of Indian law and practice. It is necessary to offer adequate emoluments in order to obtain men of this capacity ; and it is suggested that in future appointments the emoluments of the two Members shall be fixed at £4,000 each per annum, half of which shall be a charge on Indian revenues. During the period that the salary is paid, any annual pension payable to these persons from Indian revenues shall lapse. Proposals which follow the lines I have mentioned will be put before you during the Session ; and if they are approved, the future steps necessary to give effect to them will be taken without delay. I believe that the proposals will give India most valuable judicial facilities

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at a cost which is small in proportion to the admitted benefits to be enjoyed under it.

The Assembly have always taken a lively interest in our railway policy. In my recent review of the general conditions of Trade and Commerce in India I was able to show the very satisfactory results which have arisen from the re-organisation of the Railway Department and the separation of the Railway from general finance. I have previously expressed my appreciation of the same view taken by the Indian Legislature in regard to those changes which have been amply justified by the results. I am glad to be able to inform you that the Railways have been able satisfactorily to consolidate their financial position, and it has become possible to make a beginning in the direction of reducing rates and fares; concrete proposals are under consideration which it is hoped may shortly be put into effect. It is also now possible to take up another of the recommendations of the Aeworth Committee and to establish some form of rates tribunal to adjudicate upon disputes between Railways and the public on questions of rates and fares levied. A Rates Advisory Committee will be set up for the purpose of investigating complaints of this nature and of reporting to Government upon them. The *personnel* of the Committee is now under consideration and it is hoped that the Committee will commence their duties at an early date.

Gentlemen, you will doubtless remember that when I last addressed the Legislature I laid special stress upon the important pronouncement of Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords, which followed the series of Conferences between him and me. I then dwelt upon the message of sympathetic encouragement the Secretary of State, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, had sent to India. I endeavoured to convey to the Legislature the impressions I had formed during my visit to England and to reproduce to them the sentiments of friendship and good-will that prevailed among the

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British people generally, and among all political parties in the Imperial Parliament. I strove on my return from England to persuade the political leaders of India to grasp the hand of friendship and good-will held out to them and to abandon the attitude of threat or menace. I sought to convince them that this was the surest and the quickest way for India to travel along the road to her ultimate aims and aspirations. I asserted my own emphatic opinion to this effect as the result of observation during my stay in London. I quoted the Secretary of State's words, and they are worth repetition. He said—"We desire and request good-will; nor shall we be niggardly bargainers if we meet with that generous friendship which is near and dear to our hearts." In order to refresh your memories let me quote one passage from my own speech in August last, when I was referring to the possibility of the appointment of a Commission earlier than 1929, and after I had shown that His Majesty's Government did not attach special sanctity to the year 1929. I then said—"The re-examination of the Constitution may take place at any time not later than 1929, when the British Government are persuaded that there has been genuine co-operation of the responsible Indian political leaders in working the existing Constitution, and when sufficient experience of these new, and still largely untried, conditions has been gathered to form the basis of a considered judgment and to enable proposals for the future to be made with some confidence". I had hoped that the leaders of Indian political thought might seize the opportunity afforded to them by the attitude of Government, that they might elect to comply with the request made and might thus pave the way for an earlier appointment of the Statutory Commission and for the inception of a new era in political relations between India and Government. Whilst I fully understood and acknowledged the exigencies of political parties and the difficulties confronting political leaders, I yet hoped that conclusion

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would be reached and that action would be taken which would change the political atmosphere and lead to better understanding between India and the British people. It appeared to me that this was the golden moment for various sections of political opinion of India to combine in furtherance of the common purpose of advancing the interests of India by laying a surer foundation for her future relations with the British Government and people. But to my great regret I must confess that the realisation has fallen short of the extent of my hopes. So far, the appeals made with the object of promoting harmony and concord have failed to evoke that clear and definite response from India which should have been unmistakable in its manifestations and have left no room for doubts or ambiguities. A more generous response would, I feel sure, have evoked generous action. The heart of Britain would have been won by immediate and sympathetic acceptance of the advances she had made and a new situation would have been created based upon mutual trust and good-will. I shall refrain from discussing the various currents of Indian political thought that have found expression in diverse directions since I last addressed you. I desire to avoid comment that might possibly accentuate differences between political parties and Government. Yet I must speak my personal opinion with frankness. A study of the various speeches and of numberless press articles has led me to regret the more that there should be such hesitation in plainly recognising and accepting the new situation to which Government's invitation pointed. As I have indicated, I had cherished the thought that the attitude of Government would have made more cogent appeal to the generous minds of India. But it would appear that the opportunity is not to be seized; it is to be allowed to lapse, and indeed, in some quarters, I gather, that the intention, as at present expressed, is to reject it. And yet I believe that there is already the beginning of the growth of better relations. I wish the evidence

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had been more marked ; but nevertheless, I think I have discerned it, and I deem it fair to state, as I have already acknowledged on previous occasions, that there is some improvement in the general attitude, some change in the tone and temper of politicians towards Government. Here again, I wish it had been more definite and unmistakable and also more general. Although the Government in the last Session of the Assembly was opposed and defeated on various occasions, yet there was to my mind a greater disposition manifested to consider problems on their merits and to discard purely obstructive tactics. I have examined most carefully the debate of last September on the Government Resolution relating to the Muddiman Committee Report, and have studied the terms of the amendment passed by this Assembly. Whilst I willingly recognise that some individual opinions were expressed suggestive of a desire to meet Government's advance, the language of the Resolution seems to admit of no doubt as to the intentions of those who supported it by their vote. Possibly ingenuous minds may discover here or there in the formula adopted some evidence of disposition to accept the invitation. But I must reluctantly confess that scrutinising these terms with the desire to regard them as favourably as possible, I cannot find the desired encouragement to those who, like myself, were seeking evidence of greater co-operation and good-will.

There is however yet time for a more satisfactory response. In the ensuing Session, as the proceedings of this Assembly develop, I trust there may be found a clear manifestation of an attitude as generous and as well-intentioned as I verily believe was that which prompted the appeal. I shall continue to watch events here and throughout the country with deep interest, and it is my earnest prayer that the hopes, to which I still cling, may not be disappointed, and that a new era may dawn in Indian progress—an era of more sympathetic understanding, more widespread trust and more universal good-will.

22nd
January
1926.

BANQUET AT BARODA.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech in reply to the toast of his health by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I thank Your Highness for the cordial welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself and for the very kind words in which you have alluded to us both. It is invariably a gratification to me to find Her Excellency's efforts in the cause of humanity and relief of suffering appreciated and Your Highness' generous expressions in recognition of her achievements in this direction have given me great pleasure. Your Highness has made eloquent references to myself for which I thank you sincerely.

My visits to Indian States would have been incomplete if I had not been able to include among them a visit to Baroda, and I am glad that I have been able to do so this year notwithstanding the crowded programme of the few weeks that remain of my period of office. I need not assure Your Highness that the historical importance of this State, its long and honourable connection with the British Crown and the Government of India and the progressive lines on which its administration has been conducted by Your Highness entitled it to the highest consideration from me and from those who may succeed me in the office of Viceroy and Governor-General.

It is a source of special pleasure to me that my visit to Your Highness coincides with the celebrations of the Jubilee Anniversary of your succession to the *guli* of this State. I heartily congratulate Your Highness on this auspicious event and offer you my warmest wishes for the future. May Your Highness long be spared to guide the destinies of your State and to labour for the advancement of your subjects! May your subjects long enjoy the felicity of your rule and profit by those wise schemes of development which it has been your pride to devise and execute in the interests of their welfare!

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I need not dwell in detail on the earlier history of the connection of the Baroda State with the Government of India. Suffice it to say that more than a hundred years have passed since it began, and that from the outset to the present day loyalty to the British connection has been revered as a sacred obligation in the State. On those occasions when there has been opportunity to put that obligation into practice, the rulers of the State have not hesitated to demonstrate their fidelity to that tradition. In the days of the Mutiny the Gaekwar of Baroda openly supported the British cause and took all possible measures to preserve peace in Guzerat. In the crisis of the Great War Your Highness, true to the same tradition, exerted yourself to the utmost to help the cause of the Empire. I need not enumerate all the services rendered at that time by Your Highness and your State; but I may note that besides recruitment of combatants and non-combatants for our forces, Your Highness lent your palace at Bombay for use as a War Hospital and made contributions amounting to approximately 60 lakhs in cash for war purposes.

Not less well-known are the administrative and social measures with which Your Highness' name will be always associated and to which you have alluded with such marked modesty in your speech. Your Highness' rule has been characterised by the deep thought you have given to these problems and the personal attention you have devoted to securing that there should be progress and that progress should be along sane lines. Your Highness has wisely concluded that no worthy superstructure can be raised unless the foundations have been well laid and constructed from sound materials. You have conceived that the first essentials for the well being of your State are the establishment and maintenance of law and order and the provision of an efficient administrative machine and you have successfully laboured to provide these requirements. You have rightly

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decided that general progress must rest on a broad basis of better social and economic conditions and wider facilities for education among your subjects ; and you have given effect to your convictions by arrangements for free and compulsory primary education and extensive facilities for higher education and by measures to promote the social and economic welfare of the people. In all these measures Your Highness has displayed the greatest consideration for the interests of your subjects and the wisest forethought in equipping your State to meet any changing conditions which the future may hold in store. It is not vouchsafed to all men to reap where they sow or to see the results for which they have laboured. The work of many men brings happiness and profit only to those who follow after them. In your case, however, Your Highness has not only provided for the satisfaction of your successors, for the welfare of your State and for the happiness of your people in the future, but you have also been rewarded by seeing many great and beneficent changes, for which you laboured, actually come to pass in your State in your own time. Your Highness may indeed look back on the 50 years during which you have been the Ruling Prince of this State, with a sense of duty well done.

Your Highness has alluded to the position occupied by the Indian States side by side with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in British India. Let me remind Your Highness that at the time of the inauguration of the Reforms Scheme in British India, the position of the Ruling Princes and the Indian States was most carefully and scrupulously considered ; and the sanctity of treaties and the intention to preserve and maintain the rights and privileges of the Indian Princes was specially and solemnly reaffirmed by His Majesty the King-Emperor in a Royal Proclamation. At the same time, without prejudice to the relations subsisting between the Paramount Power and each individual State, the Ruling

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Princes as a body, by the institution of the Chamber of Princes, were given an opportunity of taking a wider part in the destinies of India and the Empire by offering counsel in questions affecting the States as a whole or the States and British India and by association in the discussion of certain questions of Imperial concern. I can assure Your Highness that you need have no apprehension that, when any future enquiry is held regarding constitutional advance in British India, the position of the States and the privileges of the Princes will run any risk of being ignored or injuriously affected. I am convinced that their interests will be most carefully borne in mind and considered. British India is still in the first stage of her journey towards responsible self-government. At this moment I shall not speculate on the precise position the States may occupy when a final stage in development has been reached; but of this I am certain that at all times, whatever changes may be under consideration, the claims of the States will continue to receive the attention to which their position and importance in India and the Empire justly entitle them.

Your Highness has referred to special representations which you have made regarding your own State. I cannot discuss them to-night, for these representations are still under examination. Your Highness may however rest assured that, when the examination has been completed, they will receive the most careful and impartial consideration at the hands of my self and my Government.

Let me thank Your Highness once more for your cordial welcome, and the hospitality you have extended to Her Excellency and myself. Your Highness has been most thoughtful in providing all that could interest and charm us during our visit. We shall carry away the most pleasant recollections of our visit to Baroda and of the friendly feelings of Your Highness and Her Highness the Maharani towards

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Institute of Science at Baroda.

us. Permit me to add that I greatly esteemed the privilege of meeting Her Highness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me now ask you to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and in wishing him many years of happiness and prosperity.

23rd Jan-
uary
1926.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE AT BARODA.

In laying the foundation stone of the Institute of Science at Baroda His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I thank Your Highness for the kind invitation you have extended to me to take part in to-day's ceremony. I accepted your invitation with the greatest alacrity both on account of my appreciation of the general advantages expected from the projected institution in affording extended opportunities of acquisition of practical knowledge in science and adding to facilities for research, and because I wished to show how greatly I had been impressed with Your Highness' achievements in the cause of education.

On the first point I need not dwell at length, for your Diwan has explained in the most lucid and eloquent manner the scope of the new Institute of Science, the aims it is intended to fulfil and the advantages expected from it. To those like myself who have lived in the 19th century and crossed over into the 20th, it has long been apparent that an era of far-reaching scientific discovery has begun. Day by day to silent workers and seekers in many an institution such as that it is proposed to build here, nature is slowly revealing her secrets and the mysteries of the universe are being disclosed. Year by year additions are being made to the sum total of

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human knowledge and a new land of promise is being opened out. It is already an era of stupendous discoveries and unparalleled inventions ; and if we are justified in trying to gauge the future by the immediate past, a period of exceptional intellectual activity and scientific competition lies ahead of us. Those countries, which lack the equipment to keep pace with it, will lag behind not only in the march to progress, but even in what may be within a very few years the essential conditions of serviceable existence, and this holds true even in a country of conservative traditions like India. The application of science is the key to the improvement of the great staple industry of this country, agriculture. It is upon science that progress in the ordinary needs of the community, as for example better communications, improved public health, hygiene and sanitation and the relief of suffering must in future depend. Science is also the handmaid of industry without whose help no industry can expand and flourish. In a word the happiness of the people in the future is inextricably bound up with efficiency in scientific knowledge and to untold numbers science may mean the difference between health and disease and between contentment and want. Here I must leave this fascinating subject ; but the little I have been able to say may help the public to realise to some extent of what great importance to the welfare of this State this institution may one day become.

In your project for this institution Your Highness has added one more stone to the great educational structure which Your Highness has built up in this State ; and though I have already dwelt last night in my speech at Your Highness' banquet on your achievements in the cause of education, I desire once more to express my admiration of the liberal conceptions Your Highness has formed of educational needs. To the realisation of those conceptions you have devoted your highest faculties, an absorbing personal attention and an untiring

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activity. You have rightly conceived that of the many disabilities and sufferings to which the masses are exposed, ignorance is the potent cause and knowledge is a certain cure, and in proportion as knowledge can be spread among the people in such measure will the moral and intellectual well-being of the community improve and expand.

Not have you confined your energies to one portion of the field alone. While realising the importance of a sound general education for the people at large, you have not neglected the claims of higher education in which the selected few may share. You have abundantly provided for the more solid items of intellectual acquirements, but at the same time the arts and graces have not been forgotten. You have sought to encourage erudition, to promote research and to develop the intellect, but side by side in your academy of music, picture galleries and art classes you have catered for the stimulation of the imagination and the formation of taste. The student in your State may turn at will from the pursuit of modern scientific attainments in your school of technology to the study of the lore of the ancients in your library and museums. The facilities which Your Highness has instituted offer equal attraction to those who desire a general education or those who would devote themselves to special or eclectic courses. I cannot too highly praise the thought and capacity which Your Highness has devoted to the establishment of this varied and comprehensive scheme for fostering intellectual activities; and I feel it a privilege to lay the foundation-stone of an institution which will help to complete the great project you have in mind.

*25th Jan.
uary
1926.*

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the morning of the 25th January and delivered the following speech :—

‘Your Highnesses—I have great pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses th the labours of another Session of the Narendra

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Mandal. I regret if inconvenience was caused to any of the Princes by the postponement of the date originally fixed for these meetings. Your Highnesses are aware that just before that date Her Excellency fell ill and was obliged to undergo a serious operation in Calcutta. It was doubtful in the circumstances whether I could have arranged to have been present at Delhi to preside at the meetings of the Chamber; while I was still in perplexity as to the course to take, reluctant on the one hand to miss the privilege of presiding over the Session of the Chamber and of meeting Your Highnesses at Delhi and apprehensive on the other hand of leaving Calcutta at a time when my presence there might be sorely needed, His Highness the Chancellor and several other Princes suggested to me that the date of the Session might be postponed. I gladly fell in with these kind and thoughtful suggestions and this was the reason of the change of date.

First of all I may mention that in sending to His Majesty the King-Emperor a message of condolence from India on the death of Queen Alexandra, I alluded in my telegram to the widespread sorrow of the Princes on that occasion and conveyed their sympathy to His Majesty. I knew that Your Highnesses would wish a reference to the feelings of your Order included in a telegram of this nature; and I observe from the agenda that a formal resolution will now be moved in the Chamber to convey your sympathy of which I have already given an indication in my telegram.

Before I pass on to the business before us, let me try to discharge in a measure a personal obligation to Your Highnesses. In my late domestic anxieties I have been very greatly touched by the numerous messages of sympathy and enquiry which reached me every day, or indeed at one time almost every hour, from the Princes and Chiefs. In my preoccupations at the moment I may not have been able to acknowledge sufficiently fully what a great source of encouragement those

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messages of kindly feeling and friendship have been to me in those trying days. To many Princes present here to-day I take the opportunity once more to testify my warm appreciation of the deep sympathy for me evinced by so many of the Princes and of the sincere regard shown by them for Her Excellency. Among the tenderest of the many pleasant memories we shall take away from India will be the recollection of those messages.

On looking round the Chamber I miss the faces of some of those who were with us at the last Session. Among the Representative Members the Nawab of Dujana, who was a regular attendant at our meetings, has passed away. Among the Members also, death has claimed two most distinguished representatives of your Order. I know that Your Highnesses share my feelings of deep regret at these losses.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindja of Gwalior has been cut off in the prime of his life. This Chamber had few rivals to His Highness in whole-hearted devotion to its interests and its business. His Highness attended every Session of the Chamber since its inauguration and was likewise never absent from a single one of the Conferences of Princes and Chiefs which were held before its formation. He was untiring in his service on the Committee of Princes; both here and in that Committee his sagacity and breadth of vision will be sorely missed. In His Highness we have lost not only a most able, conscientious and widely experienced Ruler of one of the great States, but we have also lost a personality of great forcefulness and charm and one who to most of us was a very greatly loved friend.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has also passed away, full of years and honours, from this Chamber and from the State which he ruled for over 40 years. The ordered simplicity of his life and his reverence for what was

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best in the old traditions won for him a widespread respect in many quarters in India. The memory of his kindly heart and shrewd perception will long be cherished by us. Like the late Maharaja Scindia, His Highness of Kashmir was very regular in his attendance at the meetings of the Chamber; and in spite of enfeebled health and advancing years he only failed to attend the Sessions on two occasions—once when he was pre-occupied with arrangements for receiving His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in his State and once when he was prevented from coming by severe illness.

I could say much more on this subject; but as resolutions of condolence with the families of these Princes are to be moved later, I will refrain. I need only now add that, though owing to minority we cannot expect to see the present Maharaja of Gwalior in the Chamber for some years, we welcome the Maharaja of Kashmir and trust that he will continue to give to this Chamber that support, which his uncle so whole-heartedly gave to it.

I feel sure Your Highnesses will wish to join me in warmly welcoming to-day His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala who has recently returned from representing India at the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. He is to present a statement to the Chamber of his work as a representative. I will not for this reason attempt to deal with his achievements at this stage; but I may to this extent anticipate what will, I have no doubt, be said later in a more amplified form, by offering to him at once my own felicitations and the congratulations of the Chamber on the very able and efficient manner in which he has discharged the onerous and responsible task entrusted to him. The meetings of the Assembly were concerned with affairs of particular interest and it must be a source of gratification to Your Highnesses that the advice of a representative of your Order is sought and
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valued, not only in India and in the councils of the Empire, but by the representatives of the nations of the world on matters of international bearing and importance.

A question in which many of Your Highnesses have taken a keen interest is the simplification of relations between the Government of India and the States. Last year I referred to the progress made in the establishment of direct relations between the Government of India and the various States previously in political relations with the Local Governments. I warned Your Highnesses against too sanguine expectations of an early completion of the process; but the progress actually made has been considerable, bearing in mind the dislocation and alterations in administrative machinery involved, and at the same time the change is working smoothly where it has been made and consolidated. The Punjab States Agency has been in existence for some time, and in November 1924 I inaugurated the Western India States Agency. The latter, so far as can be judged in the short period, is working without any difficulty. Another branch of the same subject had relation to reducing the channels of communication between the Paramount Power and each State to a single link and the representations made centred round the Rajputana Agency. In this respect after a thorough examination and after consultation with the Secretary of State, it has been decided that, though it is outside the range of practical measures to abolish the post of Agent to the Governor-General, it is possible if the Princes concerned so desire to create a new second class Residency with headquarters at Bharatpur for the conduct of relations with the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jhalawar, Karauli and Kotah. It must, however, be clearly understood that the Government does not intend to introduce this change unless it is in accordance with the wishes of the Princes concerned. No other change appears to be possible in this area; and the

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change now explained, if adopted, must not be taken as giving any ground for anticipation that the post of Agent to the Governor-General can at any time be abolished. Indeed I and my Government have come to the conclusion as the result of a careful examination of the question on present data that the Agent to the Governor-General is an essential part of the machinery for the conduct of our relations with the States in the Rajputana area. I know that some of Your Highnesses have thought that this post was unnecessary, but let me remind you that while I and my Government are always anxious to meet the wishes of the Princes as far as we possibly can and have given many an earnest of our intentions in this respect, at the same time the responsibility for the direction and control of our relation with Indian States has been vested in my Government by the British Government; and we are bound to set up and maintain the kind of machinery which in our view conduces to the most effective discharge of our responsibilities to His Majesty's Government.

Your Highnesses, we begin to-day the fifth Session of the Chamber of Princes. I, as Viceroy, have had a very intimate connection with these first years of the working of your Chamber; for though this is only the fourth Session at which I have presided, I think I can lay claim to have actually presided at all the *working* meetings of your Chamber, because but little volume of business was transacted during your first Session other than the record of complimentary and formal resolutions. The sands of my term in my high office are running low; and it is with regret that I must lay emphasis on the fact that this is the last Session of the Narendra Mandal over which I shall be called to preside. In future years I shall remember with interest, as the time comes round, that the Princes are again in Session in their Chamber; but my hand will no longer be on the pulse of those questions and interests which have occupied our attention in the

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Chamber during the past years. I shall not see with my own eyes how the promise of youth is fulfilled in maturity. I shall not personally mark the germination of the seeds of any changes that may affect you, though I may hear from afar of their ripening to harvest. The times and circumstances in which the idea of this Chamber took shape and the Chamber came into existence are still as fresh in most of the minds of Your Highnesses as they are in mine. I shared with Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, and His Majesty's Government at that time the high hopes of the utility of the Chamber and of its great value to the Princes, to the Government and to the Empire which were embodied in the Royal Proclamation at its inauguration. I have watched its early years and have laboured to foster the growth of those ideals which were entertained at its creation. The present time, when I am about to sever my connection with it, appears to me to be a fitting opportunity to analyse the work of the Chamber, to review its achievements and to scrutinise the measure attained or fulfilment of its original purpose.

Let me try to recapture for Your Highnesses for a moment the atmosphere as far as the Indian States were concerned at the time of the creation of the Chamber of Princes. It was an era of change in the world. With the ending of the great war much of an older order had passed away ; conditions of life had been radically altered ; standards and values had been profoundly modified ; new ideas had sprung up ; a general desire had been manifested among the peoples at large in the world to shoulder heavier responsibilities and to take a greater and more direct share in the control of the affairs of their countries. India itself had been imbued with new aims and new wants. For reasons, which are sufficiently well-known, His Majesty's Government with the unanimous support of all political parties in Parliament at the time, had announced its intention to introduce a reformed con-

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stitution of Government into British India, to grant a considerable measure of responsible Government and to set the feet of India on the road to the attainment of the status of a self-governing unit in the Empire ; a new goal had been placed before the people ; new responsibilities had been given to them and new opportunities of service and co-operation had been vouchsafed.

With the States of India relations were still maintained on traditional lines. Following ancient treaties or engagements, custom or agreement in each case the Government of India still dealt through its agents with every State individually. The separate position, rights, dignities and privileges of each individual ruler were acknowledged and respected as a separate pact—as something personal to him and his State and as between him and the Paramount Power alone.

This structure of relations had its difficulties and complexities ; but it was valued by the States. It had become a part of history and was hallowed by old traditions and usage. It was well fitted to preserve the self-respect and dignity of each Prince and State ; and under the system no interests ran a risk of being prejudiced or belittled. It formed no unimportant factor in fostering that spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Crown and the Government which has so markedly distinguished the annals of the States. It strengthened those ties of mutual trust and regard which had been the cement in the foundations of the relations between the Government of India and the States for so many years. No question arose of disturbing this structure.

Nevertheless side by side with this system of individual relations, the Princes and States formed a picture on a larger canvas. The States covered an area of 600,000 square miles in India and had a population of 69 millions. As a body they occupied at least a third of the whole of India. Collectively

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their interests and concerns made a very considerable contribution to the general history of India. Though each State had separate relations with the Government, there was of necessity at the same time a community of interest among the States upon questions affecting the States as a whole or questions jointly affecting the States and British India: and although the Government dealt with States individually, there was likewise a uniformity of policy on the part of the Government in respect of those far-reaching questions. Apart from these unifying factors, the Princes and States had attained a new significance outside India. The Princes by their devotion to the Throne and the Empire had displayed in the ordeal of the great war a loyalty which, though for many years fully appreciated and cherished in India and by His Majesty's Government, had not sufficiently perhaps been realised before in the Empire or known to other nations. The Princes and their States were acclaimed as an entity and an asset in the Imperial Commonwealth by the other component parts of the Empire; they were recognised as a factor in the great movements which had brought success to the Allies. Indian State forces had been brigaded as an Imperial Contingent in great campaigns with the troops of the Empire. The Princes of India had begun to take part in Imperial Councils and conclaves. They had been present as representatives of India and the Empire on a unique occasion at the signing of the Peace Treaty and at the Assembly of the League of Nations. By the ordeal of war, bonds of mutual confidence throughout the Empire had been strengthened and identity of interests and responsibilities established. The problems of peace were no less insistent and complex than those of war; and following upon the war difficulties arose which taxed the utmost resources of administrations and which could only be solved by a general spirit of co-operation and help.

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The time appeared fitting to His Majesty's Government to invite Your Highnesses to take a larger share in the development of India, to open to the Princes a wider field of activity and by seeking their united advice to give them the opportunity to offer counsel concerning the policy of Government towards matters of common interest to the States or Imperial weal. In the words of His Majesty the Chamber was brought into being "in the confident hope that the united counsels of the Princes and Rulers assembled in formal conclave will be fruitful of lasting good both to themselves and their subjects and by advancing the interests which are common to their territories and to British India will benefit my Empire as a whole..... It is my firm belief that a future full of great and beneficent activities lies before the Chamber thus established. To the Princes long versed in the acts of Government and statesmanship it will open still wider fields of Imperial service; it will afford them opportunities of which, I am convinced, they will be prompt to avail themselves, of comparing experiences, of inter-changing ideas and framing matured and balanced conclusions on matters of common interest. Nor will less advantage accrue to my Viceroy and the officers serving under him, to whom the prudent counsels and considered advice of the Chamber cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance. The problem of the future must be faced in a spirit of co-operation and trust. It is in this spirit that I summon the Princes of India to a larger share in my Councils".

It was in these circumstances and with these hopes that the Chamber came into being. Before I proceed to scrutinise the work of the Chamber there are some other points of importance in connection with its formation upon which it will be useful to dwell. In the first place the scheme for the Chamber of Princes was based on the fruits of actual experience of the value of the informal conference which preceded its

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formation. In the second place the scheme was warmly championed from the outset by a number of the Princes and several of the Princes took an active part in advising upon the form of its constitution and upon the rules and regulations to be framed to ensure its smooth working. Another essential point in the scheme was the entirely voluntary character of its Membership in that attendance was to be a matter of choice. In fact the success of the scheme and the influence of the Chamber were purposely left to depend on the measure of the Princes' belief in its utility and of their desire to support it. Another point of importance is that, while the Chamber was destined freely to give counsel to the Viceroy on matters relating to the territories of the Indian States generally and on questions affecting those territories jointly with British India or the rest of the Empire, the internal affairs of individual States and their Rulers were specifically excluded from its purview. The existing rights of States as regards their internal affairs were in no way impaired or altered by the formation of the Chamber, nor were the resolutions of the Chamber destined in any sense to curtail the consultations and discussions between the Government of India and individual States on matters of policy which had been customary in the past. Thus while on the one hand by the constitution of the Chamber, the Princes as a whole were given a larger voice in the Councils of the Empire and a wide opportunity in an advisory and consultative capacity of influencing the policy of Government as regards the States, yet on the other hand the rights, dignities and privileges of individual Princes were at the inauguration of the Chamber again explicitly guaranteed; the sanctity of separate treaties and engagements was once more solemnly re-affirmed; and the relations subsisting between Government and each State, great or little, were specially conserved and maintained. Briefly summed up the position is that the Chamber of Princes came into existence as a result of evolution

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from a previous embryonic and less formal body ; that it was brought into existence at the desire of and with the help of a number of the Princes ; that the continuance of its existence mainly depends on the sense of its value to the Princes and the measure of their support ; and that while it introduces an entirely new field of activity and influence for the Princes in the realm of Imperial and Indian affairs, it leaves undisturbed, both in structure and practice, the relations existing between the Paramount Power and each individual State.

Your Highnesses, when the Chamber started, it was not without its critics. Some of them were to be found within the ranks of your own Order. Their apprehensions as to the innovation are well-understood by Your Highnesses and rested upon grounds that commended themselves to them as based upon sufficient reason, though the objections appear to us in the main to be met by the safeguards embodied in the constitution of the Chamber. Outside your Order also there were critics of whom the most vocal predicted that the machinery of the Chamber would be used solely to enhance the rights and privileges of the Princes in disregard of their responsibilities for the welfare of their subjects or of their obligations to India and the Empire. There were others who credited the Chamber with unconstitutional purposes and vague reactionary objects. Nor were those Cassandras wanting who prophesied that the Chamber would speedily cease to exist owing to the indifference or inanition of its Members. The assembling of the fifth Session of the Chamber gives the most definite public contradiction to the latter vaticination. The proceedings of the Chamber and the policy of my Government in State affairs should also have set aside the doubts existing in the minds of certain Members of your Order ; but as regards critics among the public generally, as the proceedings of the Chamber are confidential and are not published, perhaps there

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are some who still suspect that dark mysteries or black magic are practised at the meetings of the Narendra Mandal. You have no remedy in this latter case except to satisfy your own conscience after due scrutiny of your acts, but I believe that most of the objections of the public to the Chamber have disappeared. The voices of the critics seem to me less insistent of late years; and whatever the public may think of the fruits of the labours of the Chamber of which they know but little, they are by now at least reassured that they have no pernicious effect.

When I come to analyse the work performed by the Chamber I find that in the first place some time has been spent, as was naturally to be expected in the case of a newly-constituted body, in perfecting the machinery of the Chamber itself. You have passed resolutions dealing with the representation of the lesser States in the Chamber and with the representation of States under minority administration. One resolution has endowed the Chamber with its now well-known alternative designation of Narendra Mandal. Certain slight amendments in the first regulations and rules have also formed the subject of resolutions. A preliminary discussion has taken place as to whether it is desirable to introduce any system to give publicity in whole or in part to the proceedings of the Chamber and the question is still under consideration. Very important resolutions have also been passed regarding the constitution and procedure of the Standing Committee--a body whose great utility in the scheme of the Chamber is fully recognised. Annual elections have taken place of Members to the post of Chancellor and to membership of the Standing Committee. These very necessary functions have occupied a considerable portion of Your Highness' attention; and I think Your Highnesses have found it a cause of satisfaction that the rules and regulations, supplemented in a slight degree by the additions

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above referred to, have worked so smoothly and satisfactorily. No difficulties of interpretation or procedure have arisen; and the course of the proceedings in the Chamber and the rules by which they are guided are generally well-understood and appreciated.

Your Highnesses, as is most fitting, lost no time in using your new corporate body as the channel for communications of loyalty to the Throne and House of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Messages such as those passed in this Chamber by Your Highnesses to His Majesty of gratitude for the inauguration of the Chamber, to Their Imperial Majesties of congratulations on birth of their first grandson or to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales of welcome to India gain an added force from the circumstance that they are passed in a solemn conclave of numerous representatives of your Order and strike a new note in messages of this character.

As a body Your Highnesses have also taken the opportunity of recording your abiding interest in great personalities who have been connected with the Princes and the States and have shown an understanding sympathy in their concerns. I allude to messages such as those sent to the late Mr. E. Montagu on his retirement from the post of the Secretary of State for India and to his widow on his death.

Of very great interest in the proceedings of the Chamber have been the reports presented by those Members of your Order who have represented India at Imperial Conferences and at the Assembly of the League of Nations. Your Highnesses have heard a number of such reports and passed resolutions congratulating the representatives on the able manner in which they have discharged their great responsibilities. The subject of the resolutions have been Their Highnesses of Cutch and Alwar who were representatives at Imperial Conferences and Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Cutch and

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Nawanagar who represented India at the Assembly of the League of Nations, the latter being a representative on two occasions. We are to receive the Maharaja of Patiala's report of the work at the latest meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at the present Session. These reports are quite unique both in interest and character. They transport the audience into a larger atmosphere when the affairs of Empires and Nations are discussed. They directly link up India with the Empire and connect Your Highnesses and your States with the Imperial Commonwealth. They carry our thoughts towards the place of the British Empire in the world among the nations and countries. They promote reflection to larger lines concerned with the solidarity of the unit of which India is a part and the higher calls of its destiny and of humanity at large. I value these discussions because I believe that they fulfil one of the ideals set before the Chamber of opening up a wider field of activity for the Princes in the interests both of India and of the Imperial weal.

While it is a great privilege to take part in the discussions of the representatives of the Nations at the Assembly of the League, it likewise entails grave responsibilities. India's responsibility, like India's membership, is not only in respect of British India but also of that part of India which is comprised of Your Highnesses' territories. Of the Conventions which are ratified on behalf of "India" as the result of these international gatherings at Geneva, some by their very nature call for action by the Imperial Government alone; but there are others that must necessarily affect, and create definite obligations in respect of the territories over which Your Highnesses rule. It is clear therefore that the Indian States cannot afford to be indifferent to the League and its activities, and judging by the proceedings of this Chamber at past sessions when such questions have been before it, I believe that I and my Government may count with confidence on the

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co-operation of Your Highnesses in the discharge of responsibilities devolving in this manner on India as a whole.

I need not assure you that there is no intention of encroaching unnecessarily on the freedom with which you conduct your internal administrations. At the same time I must ask you to realise that one of the most important results of the creation of the League of Nations has been to bring into existence machinery by which international influence, or rather the joint public opinion of many countries, can be brought to bear on the domestic affairs of all countries and all administrations. Your Highnesses' international relations are conducted on your behalf by the Imperial Government. So far as the League of Nations is concerned, we have been able to arrange that one of your Order should ordinarily be included on the representation of India at its Assemblies.

There is thus no intention on our part of ignoring or compromising, in the exercise of the right to conclude international agreements on behalf of India as a whole, the rights which are vested in the Rulers of Indian States, though, as I have indicated above, it may be necessary on certain occasions to invite them to take in respect of their territories the same action as we ourselves are required to take in respect of British India.

Let me now turn to our more domestic concerns. While the greater part of the resolutions of the Chamber have had reference to the policy of the Government of India in dealing with the States, to which I will return later, a few resolutions have dealt with questions primarily of interest to the States as a whole and the States *inter se*. I allude to resolutions such as that to appoint a Committee of Ministers to report on certain questions regarding extradition, excise regulations and boundary disputes or that to appoint a Committee of the

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Chamber to investigate questions of riparian rights. I believe there is a considerable field for work of this nature. It can be conducive of nothing but good. It tends to promote understanding, for there can only be general understanding where individual points of view have had an opportunity of being expressed and understood.

Let me now refer to the discussions regarding the policy of Government in relation to matters affecting the States as a whole and Imperial or British Indian interests at the same time. I allude to subjects such as Railways, Telegraph lines, Wireless communication, Postal arrangements and Mining concessions which have been the subject of resolutions. Policy in these cases directly affects British India as a whole at the same time several of these questions have aspects of importance impinging on Imperial interests. Many other subjects have an often unsuspected relation to Imperial affairs, as for example even subjects of apparently minor importance such as the employment of Europeans, which have been discussed in the Chamber, have connections not at first obvious with Imperial policy because the employment of aliens, often a question of importance when war breaks out, is included in the subject.

More limited in scope, in that they deal with the policy of Government in relation to the States only and have no connection with public affairs in British India, are another class of resolutions such as those dealing with the terminology used in addressing Ruling Princes and the Governments of States, the period of limitation in seeking remedy by appointment of a Court of Arbitration and certain aspects of policy regarding agreements to be concluded with States in the case of young Rulers.

Certain resolutions are limited also in another way, in that they deal with questions of interest to one Local Government or to individual Local Governments, such as for

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example the resolution regarding visits of Ruling Princes to certain sanatoria in the United Provinces, and that relating to the acquisition of immoveable property in British India. These questions, though of interest to all the Princes, are primarily only of interest in British India to the Local Government within whose administration a hill sanatorium lies or within whose administration a particular Prince may seek to acquire immoveable property.

Of interest in another way was the resolution regarding Radio broadcasting. This is a new subject. Its regulation is still fluid in the world and in each individual country. It is sensitive to rapid development and change. It is important that some uniformity be quickly secured as best can be arranged. The Chamber gives the opportunity of speedily bringing a large number of Princes into direct touch with new developments and of hearing their views.

The activity of the Chamber was of particular interest to me in two questions of considerable importance. The Government of India appointed two Committees—one to deal with the press regulations in British India and the other to deal with fiscal policy. The work of these Committees attracted immediate attention among the Princes and resolutions in regard to both were passed by the Chamber. In the first case the resolution led to immediate action by my Government; and a further resolution of the Chamber expressed gratitude at the action we had taken, in the teeth of considerable opposition, as exemplified in the Indian States Protection against Disaffection Bill. Fiscal policy is a more complicated question which cannot be solved without most careful examination. The subject has been under the consideration of my Government and especially of the Departments concerned since the last meeting of the Chamber. I am however not yet in a position to announce a conclusion.

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After searching the resolutions of the Chamber I fail to find ground for the forecast of some of its more virulent public critics that it would devote the main part of its energies to securing individual privileges.

After a careful review of the work of the Chamber I arrive at the conclusion that the Chamber is successfully fulfilling those very objects for which it was constituted. I hold that the ideals have been clearly kept in mind, and that there has been no falling away from the high purpose cherished for the Chamber at its inauguration. I earnestly trust it may avoid possible dangers in the future, as, for example, the serious danger of flagging interest which may be shown by scanty attendance at meetings or in a minor degree by lack of promptness in dealing with the business of the Chamber as, for instance, in confirming the proceedings of the Chamber. There is also the risk that activity in the Chamber may be too closely confined to a few Princes only. It is my conviction that the Chamber can only flourish if a considerable number of Princes from different groups of States take a genuine and lively interest in its proceedings and work for its success. To have influence it must be representative; and to be representative the Princes generally must take an active part in formulating views upon questions under discussion.

I am convinced that the advice of the Chamber is and will continue to be of great and real value to the Government; and I likewise feel strongly that the Chamber opens up a wide vista of greater activity in public affairs for the Princes as a whole, and that its tendency must be to extend and broaden outlook and to give to the Princes as a body a larger and keener interest in the progress of India and the destinies of the British Empire. I believe also that the existence of the Chamber helps to assign to the Princes and States a greater weight in the general scheme of the Commonwealth of India which is due to their numbers and importance.

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Before leaving the history of the working of the Chamber let me say a word regarding the Standing Committee and the Chancellor—both very vital parts of its machinery. I wish to express my deep appreciation of the admirable services which have been rendered to the Chamber by the Members of the Standing Committee. They have borne the burden and heat of the day ; and only those who have worked on the Committee can realise the many hours of concentration, discussion and thought which lie behind the reports submitted by them to deliberation by Your Highnesses at the meetings of the Chamber. The work of the Chamber would be full of difficulties and delays had not the Standing Committee with infinite care and labour previously performed the intricate preliminary spade work and arrived at clear issues suitable for discussion by Your Highnesses in the Chamber. I desire also to pay a debt of sincere gratitude and admiration to the Chancellor. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has served the Chamber in this capacity since its inauguration. I need not dwell on the great qualities which he has displayed in his task. I can with complete confidence express my admiration, for I know it is shared by Your Highnesses, for his unselfishness in giving up his time and abilities so whole-heartedly to the work of the Chamber and for the great capacity, tact and efficiency he has shown throughout in the conduct of its affairs. The Chamber is indeed fortunate to have secured so devoted and able a Chancellor in the first years of its existence.

Your Highnesses, this Session of the Chamber is the last occasion during my Viceroyalty when I shall have the opportunity of meeting so many of your Order. I am, I regret to say, soon to leave India and to break with those connections and interests which have formed my absorbing occupation during the past five years. Among the many memories of my period of office on which I shall ponder

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when that office has been laid down is the part that the Princes have played in my experiences during those five years. I shall gratefully recall that throughout the difficulties which surrounded me at one period, I could always count on the unswerving loyalty of the Princes and their States and on their great devotion to the Crown and the Empire. I shall not forget what a source of strength and encouragement this conviction was to me. I shall remember also with pride that on occasions when it was my desire that India should stand well in the eyes of the Dominions or the Nations, I could rely on the Princes chosen as her representatives at Imperial Conferences or International Assemblies to advocate her interests with ability and dignity and to sustain her cause with credit. In the great appeals for charity or public purposes which have been sent forth in my time, Your Highnesses have always made a most generous response and shown a fine example of public spirit and sympathy to India.

Before I turn to other aspects of my personal relations with Your Highnesses let me once more draw your attention to the observations made by me, when I first addressed you in November 1921 and again at the close of my speech to you in November 1924, regarding the reforms and the aspects in which they concern and must increasingly in future concern the States and their Rulers. I then drew your attention, keeping ever before you as your first consideration the happiness of your subjects, to the changing conditions in India and expressed my confidence that Your Highnesses would strive to meet them with sympathy and wisdom. These questions are worthy of your consideration. New currents of thought are seeking to find expression ; and in the fullness of time, as history has so often shown, they will find their true expression in a concrete form. I recognise that it is difficult to choose the proper moment to act and to act

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in the right manner. It is a difficulty which confronts the sagacity of all those called upon to rule. Rulers can but strive at all times, with understanding and sympathy, to the best of their ability and according to the dictates of their conscience, to guide these currents into those channels which are best calculated to secure the welfare and contentment of the people. I have made these observations in all friendliness, as one who speaks from his own experience and convictions and has the best interests of your Order at heart. I feel sure from my knowledge of Your Highnesses that when the need arises and the proper time comes, you will take what you conceive to be the right course in the true interests of your subjects and of your States.

With some of Your Highnesses acquaintance has ripened into intimacy and these intimacies have been most precious to me ; it has been a great happiness to have been at liberty to discuss in the freedom and confidence of these intimacies many of those problems which have perplexed me and to refer to that special knowledge of India which Your Highnesses naturally possess. Let me assure you that during these years Your Highnesses and your concerns have never been absent from my mind. I have shared your joys and sorrows and tried to understand and enter into your apprehensions and hopes. I have often also considered what the future may hold for the Princes and their States. Whatever may be in store, it is my earnest prayer that prosperity and progress may be vouchsafed to your States and to your subjects, that you may preserve the dignity and honour handed down to you from your ancestors, that in your administrations you may possess and enjoy the confidence and affection of those over whom you have been called upon to rule that you may maintain your great reputation for loyalty to the Person and Throne of His Majesty and be held in high respect and esteem as pillars in the vast structure of the Commonwealth of the British Empire.

25th Jan. DINNER TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY BY HIS HIGHNESS
uary
1926. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER.

At the Dinner given to His Excellency the Viceroy at Maiden's Hotel, Delhi, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner made the following speech.

Your Excellencies; Your Highnesses and Gentlemen.—Shortly after the assumption of the duties of his high office His Excellency the Viceroy honoured me in 1921 with his presence at a function similar to this in this very Hall; and I need hardly say what a pleasure and privilege I deem it to have this opportunity to-night to entertain His Excellency and Your Highnesses and so many Officers of the British Government and my other friends. My only regret is that several of my Senior Brother Officers in the Army are away from Delhi on duty.

Though, for some five years previous to that I had been doing more or less similar work as Honorary Secretary to the Princes for the Princes' Annual Conference from 1916 to 1921; both His Excellency and I had, by a coincidence, only a short time before my Dinner Party in 1921, assumed charge respectively of the Viceregalty and the Chancellorship of the Chamber of Princes; and by another coincidence we shall, again within a short time of each other, be handing over charge to our successors; for in April we shall alas! be saying farewell to His Excellency, and, as is already known to many present here, I have decided not to stand again this year for the Chancellorship.

There is much that I should like to say about the sadness which I feel at Their Excellencies' impending departure; of my indebtedness to Their Excellencies for all their great courtesy, kindness and hospitality to me in the last five years; and of the personal support and encouragement which I have received from His Excellency as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. But I am afraid I should be violating a mutual agreement if I were to proceed further to make a set speech, for His Excellency, as Viceroy of India and President of our Chamber of Princes, and I, as its Chancellor, have obviously to speak several times each day on various different subjects throughout the Session of the Chamber; and though to me it would have been a labour of love to have attempted, however inadequately, to give vent at greater length to my feelings, it would obviously have been laying an undue strain on His Excellency to impose upon him the necessity for a long and formal reply to-night.

I will, therefore, only add and in doing so I feel certain that I am echoing the sentiments of every single one of us present here to-night—when I give expression to our devout thankfulness and our profound sense of relief at the recovery which has been vouchsafed to Her Excellency Lady Reading after her recent illness and operation.

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And now I will give you the toast of His Excellency the Viceroy, and I will couple with the toast the name of Her Excellency the Countess of Reading—we all sincerely wish Their Excellencies many more years of happy life and every possible good wish.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply said :—

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses and Gentlemen.—It was a very kind and gracious thought of Your Highness to give me this opportunity of meeting to-night a number of the Princes and other friends in this pleasant and informal assembly. With the unerring instinct of the perfect host, Your Highness seems to have discovered, either by delicate sensibility or by intuitive perception, the kind of evening that I should most like to spend amongst you. We have too many opportunities, I am afraid for formal speeches, and too few of those occasions when one can speak without too much thought, without too close a study of the language one uses and perhaps with a little more abandon than is usual in the speeches that a Viceroy has to make. Not only have you shown this perception, but you have also detected the best means of making a toast to myself most agreeable, and that is in coupling the name of Her Excellency with it. I shall not easily forget the sympathy that was shown to her and also to me by the Princes, individually and as a body, during the time of anxiety caused by Her Excellency's illness ; and I remember so well, when I was postponing the various engagements that I had made, I had to reflect very seriously upon the course that I should take with regard to the Chamber of Princes. I recollect ed that we had determined that the meeting should take place in November because that was the most convenient time to the Princes, and I determined in the end that I would take the risk ; I should try to come. If unfortunately I should have been prevented at the last minute I should have been extremely sorry, but the circumstances would have been too strong. And then from His Highness the Chancellor, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and others came telegrams to me suggesting that

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the meeting should be postponed in order that I should not have this anxiety hanging over me. It seemed to me that it was another of the many proofs that I had had of the sympathy that radiated from the Princes of India to myself. (*Applause.*)

You have told us this evening, Your Highness, that this is a very informal occasion. You have indulged in the luxury of a brief but very sympathetic speech. You have set the example which I am proud to follow. (*Laughter.*) I shall take care in any observations that I may make to you to avoid being too formal, and above all I shall try to emulate your example of brevity. (*Applause.*) Nevertheless, I must refer for one moment to the relations that have existed between the Princes and myself during the five years of my Viceroyalty. I have no doubt, although I ask for no admissions, that there have been times when perhaps I have been thought not to have seen eye to eye with the Princes ; but they have been rare and they have been mostly in matters of comparatively minor detail. My relations with them have been of the best ; and believe me, they are to me nothing but the most delightful of memories. I must not dwell too much on the Chamber of Princes, because we are now engaged in its work which calls us together every year. I must not think too much of the sadness of parting. It is always a grievous thing ; but friends must part : it is so ordained. In the scheme of life pleasure is unfortunately too closely mixed with pain. But I said to myself this evening, as I paused in the pleasant conversation that passed during our dinner : Banish the thought of sadness for to-night, and it is relegated to the obscure chambers of my mind. Yet it is present there all the time, but so far as I can, I shall prevent any expressions of mine giving expression to it. I shall concentrate on the pleasure of meeting rather than dwell upon the regret of parting. Memories crowd upon me when I think of the intercourse that I have had with so many of Your Highnesses ; when I had the opportunity

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of meeting and discussing—often alone but sometimes in company with several Princes—some of the important questions of high policy which affect the Order of the Princes. Let me say that I am glad indeed, as His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative, to have had the opportunity of this friendly intercourse with them ; it has been of the greatest assistance to me and I hope has at times contributed to their understanding of the policy pursued by His Majesty's Government.
(Applause.)

These are only some of the memories that crowd upon me. I shall think often, when I am no longer with you, of the happy times that I have spent with so many of Your Highnesses in your own States, or, I am glad to say, that you have spent with me in the Viceregal residences. *(Applause.)* I do not know whether you are aware of all that you have done for me. When I came to India at a time of life when usually one has given up attempting fresh study, I came to the conclusion that it was desirable that I should take up the chase, of which hitherto I had had no experience. My life had been spent in a different atmosphere ; I had had no time, neither had I had the opportunity. Tigers do not grow in Law Courts or in Embassies. *(Laughter.)* I have often thought, and shall again and again, of the wonderful times I have had when we have been out in the jungle, occasions which perhaps many of you may be inclined to be little because you are so used to it ; it is part of your life ; you grow up with it in your immediate vicinity. But to me it has meant more perhaps than I can tell you ; it has been my period of rest and relaxation, and above all, to an old man it has been my time for fresh experiences. I shall not tell you of the stories that have come to me when the officers of my Criminal Investigation Department reported to me on my return from some adventure of shikar, how the animals when they met together in their lairs have talked

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about the wonderful experiences they had had and the extraordinary escapes. (*Laughter.*) One blackbuck I remember in particular after which, with His Highness of Bikaner we raced in a Rolls Royce at 45 or 50 miles an hour over the desert. I saw a ravine before me and wondered whether we were going to take that ravine at a jump. Of course I had by virtue of my office to keep a perfectly calm face. I sat watching anxiously; my heart was going pit a pat, and when we approached the ravine I thought that now was a time of great trial. But when the buck jumped the ravine, quite suddenly there was a turn and a twist and we skirted the ravine. (*Laughter.*) Of course surely enough we met this animal which we were chasing again, and equally surely, I might almost say more surely, I missed it. (*Laughter and applause.*)

I think of many other experiences of the same kind and shall remember the reports that have come to me of how the male animal, resplendant in his vigour, in his courage and in his ferocity sat, and around him were all his ladies gazing in amazement and with admiration of this wonderful animal that had defied the Viceregal rifle. (*Laughter.*) But as I read on in the reports I became conscious of the fact that there was not so much for me to boast of after all, because as he recounted his experiences he told all those beautiful ladies how in point of fact he was never in danger because 'shoot as often as he liked he couldn't hit me'. (*Laughter.*) And these were in my early days, and with the remembrance of them comes that of the courtly excuse, the chivalrous explanation of why it was that I had missed. This was when I was with a Prince who was a redoubtable exponent of the art of rifle-shooting and who found quite a dozen excuses for me though I had not the faintest idea myself of their existence. (*Laughter.*) It has happened again and again that I have pondered deeply upon problems of State as I sat waiting for the

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beat to commence in a machan, or in a tower or on a rock or on an elephant. When on an elephant however it has happened that the elephant had a habit of putting his trunk into its chest and squirting water all over itself and partly over myself. (*Laughter.*) But with others, on all such occasions I have found the mysteries, the captivations and the fascinations of the jungle far more important than the mere sport. They gave an idea of immensity ; they gave also a notion of the wild. In the heavy dust-laden air we have sat waiting ; not a sound could be heard ; suddenly the dry leaf dropped to the ground and immediately every one was on the alert ; but then a monkey came along. (*Laughter.*) When that was all over came the peacocks—familiar to you all—striding along with their bodies stretched out and resplendent with a beautiful translucent hue, their tails shining in the sun, proudly putting down their feet as they walked on the dry leaves and making a noise greater than 20 tigers and rejoicing in the thought that they have made every sportsman take up his rifle and prepare at once for the shot that wasn't to come. (*Laughter.*)

These are the memories which I shall cherish when I am no longer here. I shall carry home with me also in a priceless casket, filled with more precious jewels than diamonds and pearls and rubies the many acts of kindness, the many signs of true hospitality, the many manifestations of friendly intercourse that have been shown by the Princes to me. (*Applause*). I shall cherish them as I cherish my dearest memories.

I shall remember also the coincidence to which Your Highness referred of our having assumed and laid down our respective offices almost within the same period. But, Your Highness, for the first time a feeling of envy grows upon me with regard to you. I wish most devoutly that I could say for myself in

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connection with my time and during my years of office in India what I can so truly say and feel with regard to the completeness and efficiency with which you have discharged your duties as Chancellor. (*Applause.*) If only a small portion of that admiration which I have for your discharge of those duties is felt by you in connection with a matter which I have performed as Viceroy and in connection with my work with the Princes, I shall indeed count myself a fortunate and a happy man. (*Applause.*)

If I were to tell you all that I was thinking of in the innermost chambers of my thoughts, to which I relegated sadness when I first began to speak to you, I should detain you for a long while. But I remember the very good example that was set by His Highness of Bikaner and I have determined that I shall be brief, and therefore I shall now bring to an end my few observations. But I do want the Princes who are here present and others whom I have had opportunities of addressing to remember when I have left India and am back again in England in my private capacity, that whatever criticism and whatever comment may be made amongst Your Highnesses in regard to the period during which it was my duty to preside over your deliberations and, in my capacity as representative of the King-Emperor to see you whenever difficulty or serious questions arose, that I have striven to the utmost, and this is the only claim that I make—to do my duty, to maintain the high traditions of the Princes and to hold aloft the noble traditions of their Order; to remember that as it is a Prince's part to pardon, so it is a Prince's part to create and construct. I leave you to-night full of the memories to which I have referred, conscious of many shortcomings on my part, but never conscious of forgetting what is due to the great, ancient, noble and princely Order to which you all belong. (*Prolonged applause.*)

ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech when he addressed the Council of State at Delhi on the 9th February :—

9th Febr-
uary
1926.

Gentlemen of the Council of State.—I have summoned you to-day because I desired to welcome you at the beginning of the Session of your Chamber. The first Council of State concluded its labours in September last and dissolved. The body I see before me to-day, has since come into being as a result of new elections and nominations and is about to begin in the present Session to exercise its important functions as a vital part of the constitutional machinery of the Government of the country. In my address to the Members of the first Council of State at the close of their final Session I dwelt upon the nature of those functions and expressed my appreciation of the conception of their duties which had been formed by the Members of the first Council of State and of the able manner in which those high responsibilities had been discharged in the interests of India. It is more particularly in view of these considerations and in order to mark my regard for the important position of this Chamber in the constitutional structure and my esteem for the public services to the people and the administrations rendered by it in the past, that I desired to offer welcome and encouragement to those, to whom it will now fall to carry on the traditions of this Chamber and to exercise the influence assigned to it by the constitution.

Among the Members I see the faces of a number of old acquaintances who were Members of the first Council of State. By their work in this Chamber they have already displayed the high qualities of their experience, sobriety of judgment, sense of duty and devotion to the best interests of India. I welcome them again to the Chamber. I also welcome those who are new Members. With some of the latter I have already formed personal acquaintance ; and others are known to me by the record of their public work. I congratulate them on the wide

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field of interest and activity which their admission to this Chamber opens to them. I am confident that I can rely upon them in their actions to bear in mind the weighty responsibilities assigned to this Chamber in the constitution and ever to strive, after careful consideration and according to the dictates of their judgment, to arrive at those conclusions upon the difficult questions coming before them, which are best calculated to conduce to the greater happiness and progress of the people and to the maintenance of the highest standards of administration in India.

I do not propose to-day to enter upon a review of questions of general interest in India, as I have recently addressed the Legislative Assembly; but I shall briefly allude to certain matters of special interest at the present time.

I greatly appreciated the action of the Members of the Legislative Assembly in regard to postponing the discussion of the resolution upon the situation in South Africa. Debate at that moment might have prejudiced the delicate and critical negotiations in which I and my Government are engaged with the Government of the Union of South Africa. I can assure the Indian Legislature that in these negotiations we have taken and are taking every step which, to the best of our judgment, is calculated to help in arriving at a solution satisfactory to Indian opinion of this difficult problem. I have given anxious thought and my close personal attention to every step we have taken, and I gratefully acknowledge that the attitude of the Indian Legislature and the Standing Committee has been a strong support to me throughout these negotiations. I must ask the Legislature to have a little further patience notwithstanding the news from South Africa in this morning's Press telegrams, and to continue to trust in our efforts. I wish it had been possible to explain the situation more fully to you, but I am sure that you will understand why I refrain from adding to

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the statements I made recently in addressing the Legislative Assembly.

I feel certain that this Chamber has been interested in the announcement of the decision to appoint a Royal Commission on Agriculture. This Chamber has always taken a lively interest in this subject. In July 1923 the Hon'ble Sirdar Jogendra Singh moved a resolution for the appointment of a Committee by Government to consider questions nearly all of which fall within the scope of the terms of reference of the Royal Commission now to be appointed. In February 1924 the Hon'ble Mr. Sethna advocated the appointment of a Committee to make a survey of the economic conditions of the people of India with special reference to the condition of the agricultural population; and on the 5th of March in the same year Sirdar Jogendra Singh moved a resolution advocating a further survey of irrigation possibilities. All these resolutions had the same object in view, that is, an increase of agricultural productivity and the improvement of the economic conditions of the rural population. The first of the three motions was lost, but the two latter were adopted. In addressing the Legislature in September last I laid stress on the importance attached by me and my Government to these representations. I then stated that I hoped to secure the general object in view by the operations of a Central Board. It appeared at the time that a general enquiry by a Committee or Commission might be open to some objections and might possibly hinder the projects of the Local Governments. A closer examination of the problem has, however, convinced us that the machinery of a Board would be inadequate to secure the far-reaching results for which we all hope. It appeared imperative, having in view the great importance of this subject to India as a whole and the large numbers of persons in India wholly dependent upon agricultural operations, to constitute a special body which might be calculated to bring to the task a wider store of experience, a

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more detached angle of view and a greater authority than we could hope to obtain from a Central Board. A body of this character, in our opinion, appeared to be in a better position to devise effective measures for the expansion and co-ordination of agricultural efforts in India and to give real assistance, based on the fruits of the latest practical and scientific experience elsewhere, to the Ministers and Departments of the Local Governments to enable them to obtain the best results from their activities. It was in this conviction and after consultation with the Secretary of State and Local Governments that we finally framed our recommendations to the Secretary of State for the appointment of a Royal Commission. Let me once more make plain that our object is to expand and strengthen the operations of the Ministries of Agriculture of the Local Governments and to assist them with information and suggestions, which might not otherwise be available to them, for still further supplementing their achievements. It is not desired in any way to curtail their powers of initiative or action—quite the reverse. At the same time care has been taken not to overload the enquiry by entrusting to it the examination into certain other important subjects connected with agriculture. These problems have technicalities of their own and vary in character in each Province. They already engage attention of the Local Governments and are in many cases the subject of legislative proposals in the local legislatures.

You will doubtless have observed that there has been criticism hinting at some dark political motive in the appointment of the Commission. It is unnecessary, I feel sure, for me to repudiate the suggestion. The improvement of the premier industry of this country and the advancement of the interests of the most numerous class in India appears to me, as I have no doubt it also appears to you, to be a purpose wholly beneficent in its scope and outside the sphere of political controversy. It has long been the subject of consideration by me and my

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Government and by the Legislature. I rejoice that it has been my good fortune to announce the decision during my term of office and that it will fall to the lot of my distinguished successor, who is specially qualified in this respect, to deal with the recommendations that will be made.

My Government have recently had under their consideration the adoption of a new policy regarding opium which is in accordance with the trend of opinion in a number of other countries and also with views that have been freely expressed in some quarters on different occasions in India. We have very carefully examined the new obligations undertaken by us under Article 1 of the Protocol to the Convention of the Second Opium Conference at Geneva, "to take such measures as may be required to prevent completely within five years from the present date the smuggling of opium from constituting a serious obstacle to the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium". As a result we have come to the conclusion that in order at once to fulfil our international obligations in the largest measure and to obviate the complications that may arise from the delicate and invidious task of attempting to sit in judgment on the internal policy of other Governments, it is desirable that we should declare publicly our intention to reduce progressively the exports of opium from India so as to extinguish them altogether within a definite period, except as regards exports of opium for strictly medical purposes. The period to be fixed has not yet been finally determined, as before arriving at a decision it is necessary to consult the Government of the United Provinces regarding the effects that the resulting reduction in the area cultivated with opium will have on the cultivators in that Province. We further propose to discontinue altogether the system of auction sales of opium in India as soon as the agreement for direct sale now being negotiated with the Government of French Indo-China is concluded. My Government hope at an early date to move a Resolution in

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both Chambers of the Legislature in order to give the Members of the Legislature an opportunity of expressing their views on these important proposals.

Since I last addressed the Legislative Assembly on the 20th of January, I have received an important communication from His Majesty's Government on a subject which I feel sure you will welcome. The question of taking the first steps towards the creation of an Indian Navy had been under the consideration of my Government for some time past. This was one of the tasks to which Lord Rawlinson devoted much of his energy and time before his lamented death. The inclination of my Government to take concrete measures was strengthened by the strong recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee to re-organise the Royal Indian Marine on the lines of a combatant naval service; and after a careful preliminary examination of the problems and a full consideration of the advice of several naval experts, my Government during last cold weather decided to invite a Committee, under the Presidency of Lord Rawlinson with Vice-Admiral Richmond and Sir Bhupendra Nath Mittra as members, to formulate definite proposals. The report of this Committee will be published to-day. Their recommendations were accepted in general principle by my Government and forwarded to the Secretary of State for approval.

I am now in a position to make the following announcement as regards the decision of His Majesty's Government :-

" Subject to the necessary legislation being effected, it has been decided to reconstruct the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force to enable India to enter upon the first stage of her naval development, and ultimately to undertake her own naval defence. Subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the service will be known as the Royal Indian Navy and will fly the White Ensign. Its functions in peace

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time will be as defined in paragraph 3 of the Report of Lord Rawlinson's Committee. Its most important aspect in the early stages will be that of a training squadron. It will train the *personnel* for service in war. For this purpose it will become from the first a sea-going force. In addition in peace time its functions will include the services required by the Government of India in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, the organization of naval defence at ports, marine survey in the Indian Ocean and marine transport work for the Government of India. The fleet will consist, in its first stage of development, of the vessels enumerated in paragraph 4 of the report. The inauguration of the Royal Indian Navy will be entrusted to the *personnel* of the existing service, subject to any necessary readjustment of cadres and Indian gentlemen will be eligible to hold commissioned rank in that service. The changes which this policy involves will be carried out as soon as an agreement has been reached, in consultation with the Admiralty, and with other authorities whose expert advice and assistance will be necessary, on detailed questions of administration, organisation and finance. ”

I need not emphasise to the Hon'ble Members of this Chamber the significance of this decision. It embodies an important principle. Thinking men in India have long desired the creation of an Indian Navy for India capable of defending her coasts, her harbours and her commerce. That laudable ambition will now have its scope.

Let me dwell for a moment upon two features in the announcement. To the imagination of those, who understand the traditions of the British Empire, the privilege granted to the Indian Navy of the future to fly the White Ensign should appeal with special significance. India by this privilege is directly admitted at the out-set of her naval career to share in the record of the centuries of proud and gallant traditions for which that Ensign stands.

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It is a high privilege ; it carries with it the great responsibility of rendering service worthy of the honours conferred. Even to embark on the first stage of the performance of those duties, which the greatest Navy in the world has been performing, is no light task. Nevertheless I feel sure that it will be courageously undertaken as a vital part of India's natural ambitions and hope.

To Indians a new and honourable career of national service has been opened. The recommendation of Lord Rawlinson's Committee has been accepted that Indians desiring to qualify for Commissions in the Indian Navy should receive special facilities for suitable education in earlier years and later for technical training in the naval profession. I look to those who elect to set out on this career to use every effort to fit themselves for their task, to foster an *esprit de corps* and to found here in India those traditions of high efficiency and courage which the pages of history commemorate as the proud possession of the Navy of Great Britain.

Much constructive work remains to be done before there is a Royal Indian Navy in being. Legislation will be necessary. Ships must be acquired and specially equipped for commission in Indian waters. Details of organisation and finance have to be examined. Careful and thorough preparation will be called for. These processes, which will take some time, are on hand and will be completed with the least possible delay. These are matters of detail, though of great importance to the success of the project, and I do not propose to discuss them to-day ; many of them are referred to in the report now published which explains the framework of the project. I need only at the moment mention that from the preliminary estimates it appears that the creation of the Indian Navy in its initial stages is not expected to involve any large addition to public expenditure. Of more importance than questions of detail is the acceptance

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of the policy of the creation for India of a naval service of her own. I am confident that this great opportunity will be welcomed and turned to the best account for the lasting benefit of India.

In my address at the opening of the Session of the Legislative Assembly I referred to the creation of a Rates Advisory Committee and to the important functions with which the Committee would be entrusted in the administration of our railways. It may be of interest to many in this Chamber to know that I have offered the presidency of this Committee to Sir Narasimha Sarma, who was formerly leader of the Council of State, and that he has agreed to serve in this capacity. I feel sure that his appointment will be welcomed both by his former colleagues in this Chamber and by the public generally.

I was indebted to the late Council of State not only for the work performed on behalf of India in the Chamber itself but for the eminent services of individual Members of the Chamber on important Committees and Commissions. I feel sure I can rely on the Members of the present Council of State for the same measure of support and help. I note that Sirdar Jogendra Singh, who was a member of this Chamber, in spite of having undertaken the responsible and arduous duties of Minister in the Government of the Punjab, has intimated that he will gladly continue to serve on the Indian Sandhurst Committee ; and Mr. Sethna who is a past and present Member of the Council of State has undertaken the heavy obligation of proceeding to England and elsewhere for three months as a member of the same Committee in order to study military training institutions. I appreciate this keen desire to perform public service even at personal inconvenience, and I gladly bring to notice these instances of the spirit which animates the Members of this Chamber in their outlook on their responsibilities to the public.

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When I last addressed this Chamber I expressed my gratification that the observations made by me in my speech to the Indian Legislature at the opening of the last Session had been correctly understood in this Chamber, and that my desire to see a spirit of more friendly co-operation and goodwill had been appreciated. There were two considerations of importance. In the first place by the evidence of a spirit of this character an earlier appointment of the Statutory Commission might be secured. I understand that this is the aspiration of all in India whose avowed desire is to attain political progress by constitutional means. Not less important is the other consideration that by this spirit alone a better political atmosphere would come into existence and prevail at the time the Commission commenced its enquiry. I brought those considerations to the attention of this Chamber on its dissolution, and I again commend them to the notice of the reconstituted Council of State. Without the existence of conditions in which forms of responsible institutions can develop harmoniously, the results of an enquiry by a Statutory Commission may fall short of expectations. Let us remember the intentions of Parliament as expressed in the Preamble of the Act : " And whereas the action of Parliament must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred ".

It is thus made clear that proof of genuine goodwill in the direction of working the constitution to the best advantage will be regarded by the British Parliament as an important factor for their guidance in determining the course to be pursued in the immediate future. If this view is correct, and I can scarcely conceive the possibility of contradiction, and as the future stages of advance must be decided by the British Parliament, would it not benefit India's political progress to provide plain and unambiguous evidence of this goodwill ? I dealt at some length with this aspect of the

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constitutional question in my recent address to the Assembly. I expressed my regret that the Legislature had not availed itself definitely of the opportunity afforded to it, and that the spirit manifested in the offer by His Majesty's Government had not met with a more ready and complete response. No useful purpose would now be served by repeating the tenure of my observations.

They were intended to help India and were conceived to the best of my judgment in the true interests of Indian political progress. In some quarters they have elicited comment and criticism which seem to indicate a complete misunderstanding both of the purpose I had in view and the spirit that animated me. I feel sure that I run no such risk in this Chamber and that I may look to it with confidence for greater encouragement in my expectations. Once more let me solemnly assert my profound conviction that it is along this avenue that the aims and aspirations of India may the more quickly be attained, and that true prospects of peaceful progress may the more surely be found. I still cherish the hope that India will not tarry in pursuing it.

CONVOCATION OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY.

3rd March
1926.

His Excellency the Viceroy, as Chancellor of the Delhi University, presided over the Convocation held in Delhi on 3rd March and delivered the following speech :—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Court, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I have listened with great interest, as I am sure you all have, to Sir Hari Singh Gour's thoughtful and earnest address. I hear on all sides satisfactory accounts of the University. The number of students is growing. The permanent staff has been increased. The colleges are nearly at their full strength. The Faculty of Law, opened towards

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the close of the year 1924, has been successfully established and the law degrees of the University have been recognised by the High Court of the Punjab. Among the graduates receiving degrees to-day are some who have taken a degree in this new Faculty. Let me express my appreciation of the satisfactory beginning made in this Faculty in which I naturally from my long association with the law take a special interest. I likewise observe with satisfaction that the number of graduates in the Faculties of Arts and Science has markedly increased. The University Training Corps, which has been in existence for 18 months, has made a satisfactory start, and there is a commendable keenness for admission to any vacancies occurring in the Corps.

As Sir Hari Singh has clearly explained the University authorities are carefully considering the directions in which the activities of the University may usefully be extended. The establishment of Faculties of Commerce and Medicine and an Oriental Faculty are under examination. The former would increase the teaching activities of the University in new vocational branches, while the latter would involve an expansion of the side of the University more concerned with Arts and culture in a direction which is peculiarly associated with the ancient traditions and history of Delhi. There are other questions of importance under consideration, as for example the arrangements which can be made for the separation of the intermediate classes from the degree classes. These problems are to some extent inter-connected with the question of permanent buildings for the University. There are also inevitable difficulties of ways and means. In some aspects of these questions the University may look for a measure of help from the Government of India. Others are problems to which the University must find the right solution without outside assistance ; but I have said enough to show that Dr. Hari Singh Gour and those associated with him in the administration of the Univer-

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sity have the immediate requirements of the University under very careful consideration and may be trusted to arrive at wise conclusions as to the best course to adopt. Let me nevertheless offer a word of advice. With every desire to equip the University to meet the various new needs which arise in many directions—and I know how keen that desire is—it is imprudent, in my view, in higher education to adopt a new scheme or start a new project unless there exists complete certainty of its execution with efficiency and success. I am convinced that Sir Hari Singh Gour and his colleagues thoroughly understand this limitation of the power of expansion; and I only mention the point in order that those considerations may be as clearly present in the minds of the public as they are in mine.

I have been interested to hear that the Municipality of Delhi contemplate the introduction of compulsory education in two wards of the city from April next, and I congratulate the Municipal Commissioners on the public spirit and interest in the advancement of the rising generations which this step demonstrates. I trust that this is an indication of a revival of lively interest in education generally in the city, and that the claims of higher education also, on the perfection of which at Delhi the careers of the sons of many of its citizens must depend, will make an appeal to the munificence and solicitude of its wealthier citizens. I believe that few more worthy objects for their philanthropy can be found. The University is the University of Delhi. Its activities are confined to and centred at Delhi; and its success should be in a special sense the concern of all its citizens.

Let me now pass from the present to the future. I have striven, as far as circumstances permitted in my time, to foster this University in its infancy and early growth. My intimate connection with the University is about to come to an end; but before I leave you, I wish you to understand and

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share the hopes I have always cherished for its future ; and I trust that I may look to those who have been associated with me and my Government in its foundation, to bring these expectations to fulfilment in future years.

Let me invite you to reflect on the very special position occupied by this University. It is the University of the Imperial Capital of India. It is situated at the headquarters of the Government of India and at the seat of the Central Legislature. It has an intimate connection with His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative in India, the Viceroy and Governor-General. It takes its name from a place famous in the annals of the past history of India and identified with great traditions of both Hindu and Moslem Empires. It is a link between the ancient lore and culture of India, of which many traces are to be found at Delhi, and the various activities of modern learning, science and research.

What I hope, and what I believe you all hope, to see in Delhi is a University of which not only Delhi but India as a whole may be justly proud. And how, it may be asked, may this hope be attained ? What characteristics should distinguish this University to mark its special position ? What particular aims should it hold before it ? In view of its associations, the answer would seem to be that the Delhi University in the first place should give expression to the close concern of the Viceroy and Governor-General for the moral and intellectual progress of India. It should further be a practical sign of the ultimate responsibility of his Government for the most complete realisation of the best educational ideals in India. It should likewise be a mirror to reflect the ardent desire of the representatives of India in the Central Legislature for the development of her people and the advancement of their capacity and culture to the highest plane. It should diffuse the most powerful influences for the improvement of mental qualities and the strengthening of character. It should be a

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field of ambition, in which all classes, parties and creeds may labour together in a labour of love, working in harmony in a great public cause.

If these ideals are to be compassed, ordinary standards of academic efficiency will not suffice, but efforts will be needed to attain a higher and more comprehensive degree of excellence. In order to succeed the special place occupied by this University and the special mission it is expected to fulfil must ever be kept prominently in the minds of those responsible for its administration. The maintenance of lofty aims and the struggle for unique achievement must always be present. The spirit in which the task is approached will be the test. In such measure as a realisation of a great purpose stimulates and inspires the efforts of the administration on behalf of the University, to an equal degree will the University command the lively sympathy and assistance of the public and be enabled to secure its place as a great all-India institution.

An untiring devotion to its best interests on the part of the administration of the University will go far to win for it that esteemed position and that high degree of public regard which we covet. If it is to reach this eminence, the possession of certain qualities also will be called for. I have spoken of these qualities before in addressing this and other Universities at their convocations ; but the qualities are of such extreme importance that I may permit myself to dwell upon them once more with the full conviction that they cannot too often be commended to attention. The first of these qualities is insistence on really sound standards of teaching and training and high tests of knowledge for University distinction. No false glamour of popularity should be permitted to tempt a University to lower its standards in order to attract students or to be content with anything but the best. No mere veneer of attainments will long preserve its freshness in the stern conditions of modern life. Once a University begins to acquiesce in the

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second best and to substitute tinsel for gold, its career of usefulness is at an end ; and so far from being a potent cause for good in the evolution of a country, it, unwittingly perhaps, but no less surely, becomes an influence baneful to the progress of its people. A University must be constantly trimming its lamp. It is not enough that the light is burning ; it must be shining with full radiance, illuminating the minds and lives of its future citizens with the brightest beams of knowledge and truth.

A second quality essential to the success of a University is the possession of living energy and receptive activity. It is easy to find and tread a beaten path. It is a simple task to confine efforts to long-established and stereotyped processes of craftsmanship within well-known and narrow limitations ; there is also the temptation to roam in complacence in the store-houses of the past and to be satisfied in the achievement of a knowledge of its treasures ; but outside these cloisters, let me remind you, life is throbbing with a full pulse. The world is a process of evolution. As drops make an ocean, day by day, impalpably but certainly, new items are being added to the sum total of human knowledge. The mind of man—the whole world and sphere on which it is the function of a University to exert its influence—is in a state of constant change and advance. It seeks fresh outlets ; it explores new territories ; it sheds old theories like worn-out garments. A University must therefore be equipped to keep pace with new ideas and needs. It must be receptive of new tendencies. It must have the living energy to fit itself for new activities so that at every successive age the people may find in it that intellectual stimulus and support which new conditions will demand.

The third quality on which public attention will be concentrated when the University advances in years, is the possession of good traditions. This is a question of growth. It arises out of a keen and sustained desire both on the part of the administrative and teaching staff and of a succession of students to be

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jealous for the reputation of the University, to uphold its *izzat*, to strive for its preeminence in every direction and to be scrupulous that, so far as they may be able to secure, no blot of merited criticism and no stain of disgrace shall sully the pages of its annals. Once traditions of this nature have been established, they react on both component parts of the University ; and if they are maintained, the Delhi University will at once win and keep that position in general esteem and regard which has been my hope and is, I know, the hope of all those interested in its foundation and growth.

You may feel that, knowing the obstacles with which the University has had to contend in its infancy, I have set too difficult a standard. The ideals I have treasured, it may be urged, stand on so high a peak that the University may find the task of climbing to it beyond its powers. Let me assure you that I believe that the summit to which our eyes are turned is nearer than you dare to hope. Confidence and enthusiasm can dispel the mists which now mask the upward road. They can engender in others faith and trust to help the University on its journey ; and thus sustained, you may press on until you set your feet upon the eminence that is your goal.

Knowledge is divine in origin. To diffuse its highest forms is a sacred trust. Knowledge is not only power for the few. It is, as Sir Hari Singh has lucidly explained, in modern conditions life for the many. Civilisation in its truest sense means the sharing in the blessings of knowledge by the masses of the people. The general development of the intellectual capacity of the people is the first condition of all true progress ; it is the foundation of the greatness of nations. The University has a noble part to play in the creation of these conditions. It has a duty from which I am convinced no fears of the effort involved or of the sacrifices to be made will ever cause it to shrink.

This is the last occasion on which I shall have the opportunity of addressing the University. In a few weeks' time I shall

Banquet at Kotah.

be separated from immediate concern with its affairs ; but I shall always keep myself informed of its progress and development. I shall be interested to renew touch with those connected with its administration and shall watch with sympathy the careers of its students in their post-graduate life. With an affection, like that of a parent, I shall mark the growth to maturity of the infant to whom I acted in the capacity of chief guardian and whose earlier years I helped to tend ; and with the pride of a brother I shall follow the fortunes of a family to the membership of which I have been admitted in virtue of the degree conferred on me. Let me now take leave of the University, of its Governors, teachers and students and wish them from the depth of my heart the fairest prospects for the Delhi University in the future.

4th March
1926.

BANQUET AT KOTAH.

In replying to His Highness His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank your Highness for the very kind welcome you have extended to me on the occasion of my first visit to Kotah State. Her Excellency deeply regrets that it was not possible for her to undertake the journey and join me in paying this visit ; but she is obliged to husband her strength for the demands that the public ceremonies connected with our departure from India and the long voyage to England will make upon it. She would have been greatly touched by the very kind manner in which Your Highness has alluded to her and to her work in India. She will be gratified to hear of Your Highness' sympathy with her projects for the relief of suffering and the welfare of the women and children of India ; and she will count upon Your Highness among other friends to foster and carry on after her departure the philanthropic activities which it has been her privilege to set in motion for the good of India.

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Let me also thank Your Highness for the generous terms in which you have dwelt on my work in India. I am gratified by Your Highness' appreciation of the more stable conditions which now prevail. I trust that these conditions may continue and contribute to the growth of the greater well-being and prosperity of the people of India.

I am glad to have been able to pay a visit to Your Highness before I leave India. My knowledge of Rajputana would have been incomplete without a closer acquaintance with the Hâras and with Kotah which has had a separate existence as an important State since the beginning of the 17th century and has been connected by close ties with the British Government ever since the treaty of 1817. I also desired to visit Your Highness in your ancestral home, as you are one of the senior rulers in Rajputana ; Your Highness succeeded to the *Gadi* of this State 37 years ago and has exercised full ruling powers for more than 30 years. Your Highness' affection for your State and your devotion to its interests and welfare are well known ; and outside your own State all matters affecting the States in general such as the Chamber of Princes and questions connected with the Chiefs' Colleges command Your Highness' keenest attention. I need not dwell upon the loyalty of Your Highness to the Crown and the Empire, because it needs no elaboration. Your State gave conspicuous assistance to the cause of the Empire in the Great War and made notable contributions and sacrifices ; and the honours bestowed upon Your Highness are the symbol of the high regard and esteem in which your personal services as head of this State are held by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

¹ I join with Your Highness in hoping that the recommendations of the Skeen Committee will prove to be of great utility in connection with the recruitment and training of Indians to serve as officers in the Indian Army. In view of the interest of the subject of the enquiry to Indian States a representative

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of the States was appointed as member of the Committee, and I readily appreciate that this question is of special interest to Your Highness and your State. Few States have a finer record of martial traditions. The fighting annals of the people of this State began at Fattehabad in 1658 and continued through the 17th, 18th and part of the 19th century. They have been revived in the 20th century by Your Highness' connection with the 42nd Deoli Regiment and the participation of your subjects on behalf of the Empire in the campaigns of the Great War.

The un settlement of economic conditions after the war made it impossible to investigate with any hope of success at an earlier date the problems which are now under the consideration of the Currency Commission : but the situation is now more favourable for the enquiry ; and I trust that the recommendations of the Commission will be of permanent benefit to the financial structure in India and conduce to greater facilities for the operations of trade and commerce.

The expansion of these activities is to a great extent dependent upon the establishment of stable conditions of exchange and currency, specially suited to the local requirements of the country.

I thank Your Highness again for your kindness and hospitality, and I ask all those present to join me in drinking long life and happiness to His Highness the Maharao of Kotah and prosperity to his State.

8th March
1926.

BANQUET AT GWALIOR.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Gwalior on the 8th of March :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I do not propose to-night to make what is ordinarily understood by the term 'a banquet speech'. I have been actuated by very special

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considerations in visiting Gwalior on this occasion. Ordinarily, though I keep in the closest touch with minority administrations, I do not visit States during the period of a minority. This was one reason for not visiting Gwalior. Another reason was that a visit must inevitably bring back to me very sad memories of the loss sustained by the death of His Highness the late Maharaja and that my stay in Gwalior, where intimate associations with him would meet me at every turn, must add poignancy to the grief I already feel ; but when I turned these considerations over in my mind, I came to the conclusion that there was a higher consideration to which my rule of practice and my personal feelings of sorrow must give way.

Most of those present to-night are well aware of the very high regard entertained by me for his late Highness the Maharaja Scindia. He occupied a place in my esteem to which only a friend can lay claim. He admitted me to his confidence regarding the expectations which he cherished for his son's career and upbringing. He freely explained to me the solicitude he had for his State and the projects he had formed for the prosperity of his people. I felt I could not leave India without paying one more visit to this State and acquainting myself at first hand with the welfare of all that he held so dear at Gwalior. It seemed to me a sacred duty and obligation to assure myself personally of the well-being of all in which his affections and interests had been bound up.

The Viceroy and Governor-General and his Government have a special responsibility in regard to all minority administrations in Indian States ; but in the case of Gwalior these considerations are strengthened by my wish not only to ensure the due discharge of the general responsibility vested in me, but also by my sincere personal desire, due to my intimate association with His late Highness, to do all that is possible

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to assist the minority administration in carrying on their work ; and if any difficulties or obstacles had been encountered, I wished to help to surmount them. If there had been any doubts, I hoped to set a course which would ensure a probability of calm seas and fair winds. I desired to leave India, satisfied and confident that the ship of the Gwalior administration was steering a straight course to its fixed destination and that the hopes and aspirations of His late Highness were being fulfilled

In addition to these considerations Her Highness the Senior Maharani, the President of the Council, wrote to me more than once suggesting that I should pay a visit to Gwalior before I left India. She rightly thought that I might desire, by a visit, once more to show my esteem for His late Highness, my consciousness of his loyalty and devotion to the Empire and my solicitude for the maintenance of the high prestige of his house and of the traditions of good administration in his State. She gave me to understand that my visit would be a source of encouragement and support to her and to the Minority Administration and would assist the Council to preserve the institutions and build upon the foundations which His late Highness' foresight had laid down for the welfare of the Gwalior State and its people.

Finally I was anxious once more to see His late Highness' children, His present Highness and his sister the Maharaj Kumari. I know full well what care and solicitude are devoted to their upbringing and how constantly they are in the thoughts of the Council. I realise the universal affection they command ; but I wished to see for myself how they were progressing ; and I thought that Her Highness the Junior Maharani, would be gratified and reassured if I was able to see for myself the vigilance with which she tends them and how they are growing up.

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His late Highness took a great pride in the administration of this State. It was constantly in his thoughts. He chose his Ministers and officials with care. He manifested a direct personal interest in their work and reposed his fullest trust in those who loyally carried out their responsibilities to the best of their abilities ; while he was untiring in his own work for the State and exacting in the tale of work he expected from others, he was full of praise for the achievements of his State officials. Quick to detect mistakes, he was equally eager and ready to praise where praise was merited ; and in the several visits I have paid to Gwalior I have been deeply impressed by the great pride he took in the work of his officials and by the happy relations subsisting between them and the head of this State.

I am conscious of the influence which those conditions must necessarily have on the Minority Administration. The Council is composed of some of His late Highness' most trusted officials. Connected with the administration are others also who commanded the complete confidence of His late Highness. I feel sure that they can still hear the echo of the voice that is now silent. Though the hand that guided their activities has been taken away, I know they are still stimulated in their work by the spirit of his energy and interest. They are still encouraged by his trust and confidence and still cheered by ambition to deserve his praise.

My Government in the case of Minority Administrations have pursued the policy that they are glad to receive and consider requests by any Princes regarding the principles they would prefer to see adopted in the case of their own States and families ; and due weight is attached to wishes so expressed ; but the Government of India, on whom the final responsibility rests, must reserve to themselves full freedom of action in
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dealing with such requests. In the case of Gwalior my Government are attaching due weight to certain wishes which His late Highness expressed and it is on these lines that the Minority Administration is at present proceeding. I have made enquiries as regards the progress of the Minority Administration and I am well satisfied that a good beginning has been made. The responsibility is great. It stretches out in the future over a long period. I do not minimise the difficulties of the task or the calls it will make on the energies and capacities of the Council ; but I believe and I earnestly trust that this good beginning will bear fruit ; and that the determination to foster the continuance of good relations between this State and the Government of India, to preserve high standards of administration and good government and to work for the interests of the minor Ruler and the welfare of his subjects will be steadfastly maintained. I am convinced that the Council will bear in mind the very important interests they serve and the confidence that is reposed in them.

The Resident has taken the keenest interest in the working of the new administrative machine ; the Council may be assured of his constant support in any difficulties which may occur. Look upon him in the first place as the representative of the Paramount Power ; look upon him also as a sympathetic and understanding counsellor ever ready to help and to advise.

I am leaving India in a few weeks' time ; but I shall take away with me an abiding interest in the future of this State and its Ruler. In the years to come I shall often inform myself of how Gwalior and its Ruler are faring. I shall learn ; I trust, that its young Ruler is developing that force and charm of character which made his father a great figure in India. I shall hear, I hope, that the prestige of the State and its Ruling House stands as high as ever, that the same noble traditions

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of loyalty to the King-Emperor are cherished, that the same high standards of good administration and solicitude for the welfare of the people are maintained, as when my friend His late Highness, ruled in Gwalior.

Let me thank you for the very kind terms in which you have referred to me and to my work in India. Most gratefully also I appreciate the references you have made to Her Excellency and her work. Without her assistance, as you have rightly surmised, it would have been difficult for me to have brought to fruition whatever it has been vouchsafed to me to carry out. Critics may weigh my achievements in the balance and find them wanting; but her mission has lain in a field which is outside the sphere of controversy. She has laboured to banish suffering, to help the weak and to bring more light to humble homes; and if the seeds, she has sown, bear fruit and multiply even tenfold, she will have made as considerable a contribution to the happiness of humanity in India as any statesman or administrator may hope to compass.

Though our visit to Gwalior has sad aspects for us, Her Excellency and I are glad to have had this last opportunity of reviving treasured memories and old associations and of demonstrating the very warm interest and sympathy we entertain for the House of Scindia and this State.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me ask you to join in drinking the health of His Highness. Let us wish all success to the Minority Administration; and when in fullness of time His Highness grows up to exercise ruling powers over his splendid heritage, let us wish for him long years of prosperity and honour; may he command the affection and esteem of his subjects and may it be vouchsafed to him to secure their happiness and welfare.

18th
March
1926.

FAREWELL DINNER GIVEN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE
VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Farewell Dinner to him by the Members of the Executive Council :—

Your Excellencies, Sir Charles Innes, Ladies and Gentlemen.—

Among my many debts of gratitude to the Members of my Council I must include that of giving me this opportunity of meeting them, the Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of the Government of India and so many who have been associated with our work in the Government of India. It is an especially pleasant occasion viewed from one aspect, and that is, as Sir Charles has said, that it is in the nature of a family gathering. I do not claim by any means the true paternal pride in all of those assembled here (laughter), nor do I even attempt to attribute to myself the particular portion that one of my past Members of Council ascribed to me on an occasion not so long ago (laughter), but my family—this family which has grown around me during the last five years—is one which has been attached to me by virtue of a process well-known in the customs and traditions of the country and analogous to the Hindu Law of adoption. (Applause). I see many of those around me to-night with whom I have been most closely associated at least during the last two or three years, because unfortunately in India more especially changes take place. You, Sir Charles, have spoken feelingly and eloquently of the relations that have existed between the Members of my Council and myself. I shall not attempt tonight to say more than a very small part of what I feel on this occasion, because when the heart is full words form but an inadequate mirror of its emotions, and I fear I should fail in describing my sentiments adequately to you; and I might also incidentally introduce a tone of melancholy in this hitherto cheerful assembly. Regret there must be, and if I express myself very briefly upon this subject it is because I do not care to dwell upon it this evening. No man can live as I have during these five years, no man can receive as I have

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devotion, loyalty and splendid service, without at the same time having keen, acute pangs of regret that the time is rapidly approaching when those relations must come to an end. My consolation is that, after all, you will all be coming home at some period. I shall watch with keen sympathy what is happening out here. My interest will be with you ; I shall be specially curious to note whether those whom I had selected among the younger men, in my own mind, as those who would rise to greater fame and to the greater positions attainable, actually reached them ; and I shall always follow what takes place in India among all of you with the feeling that I wish I could be here again, with you, taking part in it all.

Five years are but the briefest span in the life of India, and even a very short span in the history of British India. I have learnt much during these five years ; knowledge of conditions in India and, I hope, some understanding of them has come to me ; but I realise even more now at the end of my term how much there is still left to learn if one wishes to be complete master of the situation and have real deep inside knowledge. But is that vouch-safed to any one man ? India is too large, there are too many varieties of race and creed, there are too many different conditions. I content myself, very humbly and modestly in trusting that during these five years there is one respect in which I hope I have never failed—and it is the only respect in which I claim not to have failed—and that is in carrying on the traditions of a Viceroy (Applause). This means—expressed in a sentence—determination to give the best service that is possible and to devote the utmost capacity that one may possess to promoting the interests of India as a great component part of the British Empire (Applause).

I am not minded this evening to travel over the events of these five years. Sir Charles Innes—if he will permit me to say so—showed the wise and generous restraint of a host in

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sparing me the recital of all the different trials and troubles that have beset me, and especially—although it would have been quite unconscious on his part—in recalling to me instances in which I think now that I made mistakes. I am not going to tell you what they were (laughter). But I do want you to realise that I am quite firmly convinced, and beyond all possibility of argument, that whatever may have been accomplished during these five years, whatever may be said in the future in credit of this period of my Viceroyalty, you who are here assembled around this table all have played their part, because it is very very largely due to you, to the assistance that I have received from you, that anything at all has been achieved.

Let me recall my first arrival in India, with almost no knowledge of India except such as at my earliest most youthful age had come to the ship's boy on board a sailing vessel in Calcutta—knowledge which in those days did not get me an invitation to Viceregal Lodge ; I did not then find myself on the Warrant of Precedence or within that magic circle that apparently has to be invited on specific occasions ! (laughter). There were also my later experiences as a Member of the Cabinet in England ; there, although Indian questions came before us, I had the good sense to realise that there were men, particularly like Lord Curzon, Mr. Montagu, Sir Austen Chamberlain who had had experience of administration of India, either as Viceroy or as Secretary of State, and who were far more able to judge of what should be the decision than I who knew little more than what I had read and seen in pictures. When a Viceroy arrives he is very troubled as to what he will find. As a Viceroy sits in the ship on the way to India he thinks of what is to happen and reflects that he knows nothing of the men whom he is going to meet or of those who are to be his

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chief advisers. I was precisely in that case. The only one whom I had the privilege of knowing was the then Commander-in-Chief—Lord Rawlinson ; otherwise I knew nothing of my colleagues. I wondered again and again how we should get on. But it was not long before I realised that, although I might differ from them in opinion, I could rely absolutely upon the most loyal and devoted service, not only from them as Members of Council, but also from all those associated with them—the Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and all concerned in the Government of India. (Applause). It is a great and glorious tradition. I know of nowhere in which it is so brought home to one as in India. I know so many of the Civil Service at home, but their conditions are not quite the same, because the contact is rather different and the position of a member of the Civil Service there is not the same as a member of the Indian Civil Service. I have wondered again and again and have admired the training that they must have had. I have seen them tackle problems which seemed almost impossible to solve. I will not go into particulars, but let me take, for example, Commerce, I express my admiration of the extraordinary insight and knowledge of those who have been associated with me in the Department of Commerce, of its head Sir Charles Innes and of Mr. Chadwick his lieutenant. Let me express to them not only my grateful thanks, but my unbounded admiration for the way in which they have discharged duties which must have been most difficult (Applause). I have noticed also that those with whom they come in contact, and who are the masters of their trade (at least I must assume so because they make large fortunes) are themselves non-plussed and perplexed and wonder how it is that these Civil Servants manage to get such an extraordinary insight into the technicalities of their occupations and matters which they thought were a closed book to them.

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I am tempted, but I must exercise restraint, to travel round the table of my Council. I see them as I shall see them on many occasions in my picture of India. There is the Field-Marshal Commander-in-Chief, always in uniform as is considered right when he comes in his position of Commander-in-Chief to the Council, bedecked with medals galore, a wonderful soldier as we know (Applause), a war-veteran of international reputation (Applause), a soldier who endeared himself to the Dominions—particularly to one—and who has done so much to link together the Dominions and Great Britain (Applause); and yet this veteran is the gentlest of gentle creatures with the gentleness that you will never find in a man of courage unless he is also a man of strength of purpose and conviction of mind; this is a gentleness which sets the seal upon the character, which you can read and which tells you that the man is a man not like ourselves because he knows of the real difficulties, he has known more of the troubles, he has seen more of the horrors of the War than we and in consequence he stands always in our view as a man so gentle that the appropriate term attributable to him is that of a *gentleman*. (Applause).

As my mind, or my eye, wanders around this table, there I see the smiling countenance of Sir Basil Blackett. In him I have a true paternal pride because, after all, I can claim responsibility for having secured his arrival in India (Applause). My experience of him when we went through very difficult times together in America during the War made me realise the importance of getting him here. You know him and so you know that he is not too particularly tractable (laughter), but nevertheless in the end he was tempted and he came—I might almost say that he came and he saw and he conquered. (Applause). I have taken special pleasure in the success which he has achieved here. We have had good fortune in India in finance, but it is due to Sir Basil Blacket that we have

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made the best of that good fortune, (Applause); and there I leave him, suffused with blushes, almost staggering under the burden of the crores which he is carrying on his shoulder! (laughter).

I turn next to the Leader of the Assembly—Sir Alexander Muddiman. He has one great fault—if he will permit me to say so, particularly this night when I am speaking with frankness inasmuch as I shall not have to work with him much longer! (laughter)—and that is that he has never taken unto himself a wife. (Laughter). Her Excellency who, like all ladies, delights in matchmaking, has sometimes in the quiet hours when we were together confessed her utter failure to find a mate for Sir Alexander. All the most beautiful and charming ladies have been seen by him and, I am told, that he makes himself most attractive; indeed, if report speaks true, it is in this respect that he most wonderfully displays his brilliant plumage, which they must admire; but he then rides off—as he cannot make up his mind (laughter). That is the only fault I can find with Sir Alexander. I remember perfectly well when I had determined to offer him the Home Membership, and with it Leadership of the House, and I enquired about him, I found it very difficult to find out anything because he had so many friends and they only had good to say of him; but eventually I managed to probe a little into the depths and I understood (I am here telling you a secret which was told me) that he would be excellent in every respect, but as Leader of the House—that was a very serious matter. I asked why and was told that they were not quite sure that he would be a really eloquent speaker. I was not convinced and the result is that I am quite certain that in the short time that the House has existed there has never been a better Leader of the Assembly (Applause). If I had any doubts of his capacity for speech and his skill in debate, and his power of persuasion,

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which is the true aim and object of speech in debate—I should find all such doubts dispelled by his manner of dealing with difficulty and of course there are difficulties enough for the Leader of the present Assembly—on those occasions he says : if only I were a better speaker, if only I had the graces and the arts of oratory, I might have convinced you but unfortunately I know I am not a good speaker, and everybody is delighted with him because they know for once he is saying what is not true ; (laughter). He has managed in a very short time to get that which is the most valuable quality in a Leader of the House, and that is the confidence of its members. They know that they can trust him. He has the merit of saying what he thinks and in a manner which does not offend. It may be sometimes a little sharp, but is immediately forgotten through some kindly good-humoured words. Speaking of him as a Home Member, all I can say is that I would never desire and never could hope to have a more valuable assistant. His sober judgment has been quite invaluable to me (Applause).

I pass from Sir Alexander and look round the table and I come to Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. His reputation had reached me before I came to India. He had won a great reputation as Financial Adviser to the Army Department. His mastery of the figures in that Department was such that whenever any difficulties arose resort was at once had to him to help to solve them. Now he has come into the Council where he plays his part like a man.—Independently in mind, free in expressing his opinions, patriotic and loyal to his country, but nevertheless realising a fair case when it is put, though it might not perhaps appeal to all his fellow-countrymen. He invariably gives the best of his opinion, and when he has once taken a view and expressed it, he stands to it and he may be depended upon to act up to it loyally (Applause).

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I travel from Sir Bhupendra to Sir Muhammad Habibullah, who sits next in my picture, and there I find him immersed in South Africa, or in the Agricultural Commission (Applause). He has had very hard tasks and especially in regard to South Africa. Some of the documents which have had to be compiled have required the greatest care and skill. He is true to his country and does his utmost for her, carrying out his duties with devotion and never failing to realise the justice of any cause when it is established (Applause).

Lastly, I come to our newest recruit—Mr. Das—a member of that great profession which has already produced many great men (Applause). He arrived with the reputation of an accomplished lawyer, of a devoted Indian, but nevertheless of a fair-minded and just man, who had the courage to say things that might be unpalatable, when he had once come to the conclusion that they were true (Applause). He assists us in consultations, which is not to be wondered at because it is a word that is dear to the heart—and perhaps also to the pocket—of a legal man (laughter).

Together, this body of men has worked extraordinarily well. I cannot recall in the whole time that there has been any element of trouble amongst us. There have been differences of opinion of course, but these have all accommodated themselves to the general benefit ; and I can only say of them that I have never met a body of men who have been truer to their duty and more faithful to their charge and who, I can say in all earnestness and sincerity, have never failed to give to me, as Viceroy, the highest service any hour of the day and, I think I might say, even of the night. (Applause).

I must not pass in review the Secretaries, tempted as I might be, because I shall be taking up too much time ; there are one or two words that I still wish to say. In all our social

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and ceremonial affairs we are assisted by the Members of Council and by the Secretaries and—let us by no means forget it—by their ladies (Applause). It is with pleasure, and satisfaction that I note that we have had ladies amongst them who have formed part of what might be termed the inner circle of affairs, who have assisted on numerous occasions and who have helped to grace our table and our rooms and have provided the flowers and the beauty and to whom alone Sir Alexander is impervious! (Applause).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I shall very soon have to take leave of you. I shall part with you and leave India with very deep regret, notwithstanding that I have the compensation of going home and meeting my own family and friends from whom we have been separated for a long time. But I do desire on behalf of Her Excellency and myself to express to you all my deep gratitude for your assistance to us in all the various functions and affairs in which our lives have been spent in India during these five years. Of Her Excellency—and for Her Excellency—I have often spoken in India. Someone suggested that perhaps I might order Her Excellency to do a particular thing. I have never done so. I learnt early in my married life the true secret, which was that I really did everything that Her Excellency wanted although she managed to convey to me, and to make me really believe for the moment, that I was doing it because I wished to do it! (Laughter).

One of the few feminine attributes which I may claim for myself as a result of this is that I have learnt to do the same, and consequently I try to manage that she shall do what I want on some occasions, and she does it and is convinced that she is doing it of her own free will and not to please me (laughter). I will not dispute as to what may be the true view—and I shall not pause further to analyse it. We have really enjoyed our time in India in spite of some trials and

Laying of the Foundation-stone of the Provincial Hospital, North-West Frontier Province, at Peshawar, by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading.

vicissitudes on various occasions (Applause). I have never had one tinge of regret for leaving England and the work I was then doing to come to India to take up the great work of Viceroy (Applause). I will ask when you hear or read anything which is favourable to my period as Viceroy, never to forget the share that you have had in achieving whatever has been accomplished, you may take a just pride in it just as I hope I may be also entitled to do.

Remember also that although we have had to work in the position of Viceroy on the one hand, and official on the other, true friendship has sprung up with real affection, and that as the time has gone by and we have got to know each other better and to understand each other. At times perhaps I have seemed to be rather hard as taskmaster but I have had only the desire which I know you one and all have in your hearts, and that is to do the best that we possibly could for India.

I thank you, one and all, for both Her Excellency and myself and I say all from the highest in status amongst you to the lowest, making no distinction or difference in grade. I am grateful to you for all that you have done, and I am leaving you conscious of the fact that I have had as splendid assistance as any man can ever hope for in any work which he may be called upon to accomplish (prolonged Applause).

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE PROVINCIAL HOSPITAL, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, AT PESHAWAR, BY HER EXCELLENCY THE COUNTESS OF READING.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech prior to the laying of the Foundation-stone of the Provincial Hospital, North-West

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Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Provincial Hospital, North-West Frontier Province, at Peshawar, by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading.

Frontier Province, at Peshawar, by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading :—

Ladies and Gentlemen.—Before Her Excellency acts on the request which has just been made to her, let me say on her behalf and my own that we are both glad to have found the time out of the few crowded days remaining before our departure from India to pay a visit to the North-West Frontier Province and Peshawar. Our projected visit last autumn unfortunately had to be abandoned for reasons which are known to you ; but Her Excellency, no less than myself, was very anxious not to leave India without seeing a definite start made with the execution of the project for a Provincial Hospital in the North-West Frontier Province in which she has always taken a deep interest. A really spacious and well-equipped Hospital to serve the needs of this Province and to which neighbours from beyond its border will also be welcomed, has long been one of the recognised needs of this Province ; but difficulties of ways and means have stood in the way. At last with the assistance of the Central Government and by the willing response to a special appeal to local public spirit and generosity, with which the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, Colonel Keen, has whole-heartedly associated himself, these difficulties have disappeared and a start can be made. To mark our gratification at the successful culmination of local efforts for this beneficent object and our deep interest in the sacred work of healing which this institution will facilitate and extend, Her Excellency and I wish to make a gift from funds at our disposal of Rs. 50,000 towards the erection and equipment of the Hospital. I am in complete accord with the proposal and Her Excellency gladly agrees that the Hospital, with which her previous interest, the present gift, and this ceremony will intimately associate her should be known by her name. That the Hospital may notably

*Address of Welcome from the people of the North-West Frontier Province
at Peshawar.*

contribute to the successful treatment of disease, to the alleviation of pain and to building up a strong and healthy race for the future, and that it may be a haven where kindness and skill will help the sick to forget their anxieties and their pain is our earnest hope and prayer.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AT PESHAWAR.

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In replying to the Address of Welcome from the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen.—Let me thank you for your Address of welcome and the kind words in which you have alluded to Her Excellency and myself and your expressions of sympathy with our recent anxieties. Both on official and personal grounds I deplored the circumstances which forced me to abandon the projected visit to the Province in November last ; and, as you have rightly surmised in your Address, it is a special interest in this Province and Peshawar which brings us both here for a very brief visit at a time when my days in India are drawing to a close and the burden of official duties is particularly heavy. It has been a very great pleasure both to Her Excellency and to me that she has been able to lay the foundation-stone of your new Provincial Hospital, a project in which she has always taken the deepest interest. She will cherish the association of her name with this institution with its great potentialities for the relief of suffering. She trusts that the building will soon be completed, and that the Hospital will establish a reputation for utility and efficiency which will spread even beyond the borders of the Province itself.

As regards myself, I was anxious to pay one more visit to this Province which occupies a place of special importance in

Address of Welcome from the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar.

my responsibilities as Head of the Government. I wished to see the Khyber Railway that new link with a great neighbouring country, the opening ceremony of which I had hoped to have performed last year ; and I desired in particular to inform myself of the state of the Province and of the conditions upon our borders and North-West Frontier before I lay down my office and hand over the charge of these responsibilities to my successor.

This Province has an intimate connection with the Viceroy and Governor-General. Its situation on the North-West Frontier creates a special relation with the safety of India, for which he and his Government are primarily responsible. It is directly controlled in all its activities by the Central Government, of which he is the Head. Its administration is the concern of a Department of his Government of which the portfolio is retained in his own hands. For these reasons I have kept in the closest touch with all the affairs of this Province and its welfare and progress have been the subject of my continuous care and solicitude. Conditions affecting peace on its borders in tribal territory have constantly engaged my attention and the policy to be pursued has been under the earnest consideration of my Government on numerous occasions. I am happy to say that the measures adopted have begun to bear fruit ; and I am gratified that at the moment relations with tribes across the administrative border are more satisfactory and there is hope of more stable conditions in the future.

Financial stringency has been an obstacle to the progress of many of the constructive activities of the Central Government. These difficulties, I am happy to say, have now been largely overcome and a more stable financial situation has begun to be established. I trust that in future these happier conditions will become a permanent feature and will enable my Govern-

Address of Welcome from the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar.

ment to consider new projects for internal improvements in this Province affecting the general well-being of the people. Meanwhile you have enumerated in your Address a number of wants. I note that you do not expect me, just as the sands of my office are running out, to be able to give you an assurance that these wants will or can be met. Your object is only to register directions in which you hope the Central Government may find ways of meeting your aspirations and to bring to notice objects to which their attention, in your view, may properly be directed. In accordance with your desire your representations will be noted.

As regards your observations regarding a constitutional change in the structure of the administration of this Province, my Government have received numerous representations both from those in favour of and those opposed to a change ; it would not be proper for me to make any observations upon them at this time. The matter has been debated in the Central Legislature. The outcome of these deliberations will be a matter for careful consideration and examination by my Government and until the case is complete and has been fully examined with the attention it merits it would be premature for me to express any views.

I mark the appreciation with which you refer to the services of officers holding important posts in the administration of your Province. I recognise that a special burden of responsibility rests upon the officers of this administration ; conditions of service are generally speaking arduous and not infrequently hazardous ; and at times Frontier officers have to deal with situations demanding considerable power of initiative and to take at short notice very important decisions upon which the peace and order of the countryside and the safety of its citizens depend. Both in the ranks of the highest and the lowest, both among the civil and the military officials in this

Reply to Address from the Afridi Jirga.

Province I have personally observed numerous instances of striking devotion to duty and of high standards and traditions of public service. In their efforts for the internal welfare of this Province and peace upon its border, they have had, I am gratified to note, full and ungrudging support and assistance from the Khans and Maliks and leading personages of this Province.

Let me thank you again for your welcome and bid you farewell. Though I am about to leave India, I shall not forget my five years' association with this Province. I shall carry away pleasant recollections of Peshawar and the frontier hills ; and the future of the Province and the border will continue to command my warmest interest.

21st
March
1926.

REPLY TO ADDRESS FROM THE AFRIDI JIRGA.

His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province and the General Officer Commanding the District, visited the Khyber Pass and went by rail to Landi Kotal. He motored back to Peshawar. Stopping at Jamrud His Excellency received an Address from the Afridi Jirga, to which he made the following reply :—

I thank you for your warm welcome and good wishes and your expressions of loyalty which I deeply appreciate. I shall not fail to convey your message to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The written representation which you have submitted to me will be carefully examined by my Government : and the Chief Commissioner will apprise you in due course through the Political Agent of the Khyber of the conclusions arrived at.

I am very gratified to have been able to find time on the eve of my departure to pay one more visit to this historic pass and to meet representatives of the tribes and inform myself of their conditions and welfare.

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

My policy and the policy of my Government has always been to maintain friendly relations with the tribes and enlist their confidence and co-operation. I trust that the tribes on their part will continue actively to support the officers of my Government in the maintenance of peace on the border so that the prosperity of the people living in the Frontier area may be preserved and ensured. I gratefully acknowledge the great assistance which has been given in this work by the tribes in the past and I am confident that the same measure of support will be forthcoming in future. So long as the tribes faithfully discharge their responsibilities, they may implicitly rely on the firm friendship of my Government and on its earnest solicitude for their best interests and welfare.

**FAREWELL ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE LEGISLATURE
AT DELHI.**

25th
March
1926.

His Excellency the Viceroy in addressing both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi in a Farewell speech said :—

I have come to address you for the last time, to bid you a very regretful farewell. The Session is almost at its end; in a few days I shall say good-bye to this historic city, to wonderful India, and to the responsible position I have held during the last five years. The period of the Viceroyalty is but a very brief span in the life of India, yet these last five years have, I believe, a significance, which may not be fully appreciated until events have fallen with the lapse of time into their true perspective, and the relative importance attributable to incidents that have loomed large on our horizon has been duly weighed and recorded. It may, and I hope will, be chronicled by the historian that the foundation of responsible self-government in India was well and truly laid during this period, although it may be that some who were actively engaged in the operation chafed at what they regarded as the slow rate

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

of progress and grumbled because they were not permitted to place the crowning dome on the edifice before the base had been made capable of supporting it. During these years since the inauguration of the Reforms we have travelled together—for you are aware that the Governor-General is a component part of this Legislature—along now and hitherto untrodden paths, often hindered by obstacles and beset with difficulties, and in the earlier days not infrequently within the sound of raging tempests without. We have not always been in agreement indeed this was scarcely to be expected. Sometimes there have been sharp conflicts. Occasionally I have felt bound to exercise the special powers vested in the Governor-General. However strongly some may have criticised these actions, I feel sure you will not have doubted that they were dictated solely by my conception of the solemn duties entrusted to me. I have myself never failed to recognise that the differences between myself or my Government and Members of the Assembly have arisen from honest divergences of opinion mainly as to the methods to be pursued and as to the time of advance in the constitutional domain. There has been no difference in purpose; we have striven to attain the same end, the prosperity and happiness of India.

The sands of my office are running out, and I do not wish to dwell unduly to-day on our points of difference: rather would I concentrate upon our points of agreement, which have been far more numerous and have led to results of greater importance than are perhaps always acknowledged in the turmoil of political controversy and agitation.

I came to India with a special mandate to guide the working of the Reforms, in which I took the keenest personal interest. During the whole period of my office my labours have been largely devoted to carrying out this policy, and my energies have been to a great extent concentrated on this question. Many problems of Commerce and Industry, of Finance and

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

Economics, of Railway Development, tariffs and other subjects of vast importance to India have also engaged my attention. I have had opportunities of surveying these fields of activities ; my purpose to-day is to refer very briefly to a different sphere of activity of wide importance to India and of special interest to the Legislatures. As I am addressing you for the last time, when the reins of my office are about to be transferred to my successor, I shall make but few observations on the political situation. I have striven throughout to place my views clearly before you in order to remove possible misconceptions regarding the objects I had in mind, and to acquaint you with the course along which I desired to steer the Ship of State ; to-day I shall refer only to a few aspects of the political problems.

Although much attention is constantly devoted in India to political and constitutional change, I am often inclined to think that the great importance attributed to the Reforms in England at the time of their inauguration and subsequently is not sufficiently realised in India. The Reforms initiated in the first place a new departure in the relations between England and India ; they put India on the road to the realisation of more complete unity and higher national self-expression. In the language of His Majesty the King-Emperor the new Constitution took its place "among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament for the better government of India and the greater contentment of her people." His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught arrived in India with a special message of sympathy and encouragement from His Majesty to inaugurate the new Legislatures, and in His Majesty's charge to me as Viceroy and Governor-General a month later the following special instructions regarding the working of the Reformed Constitution were embodied : "For *above all things* it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire, may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions.” The execution of these instructions has been a solemn obligation upon me during these five years ; with full cognisance of the importance and implication of this policy, I have omitted no step which was likely, in my view, to conduce to its successful realisation. In my efforts I have had the support and encouragement of His Majesty’s Government, and though I have been associated with five Prime Ministers and four Secretaries of State for India during my term of office, there has at no time during that period been any change in the main stream of this policy. There has been no desire to divert it from its channel or to alter its course ; the goal of British policy remains to-day, subject to the fulfilment of the essential conditions by India, what it was when I assumed my office, that is, “the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.” I have recalled these considerations to you in order to emphasise that the policy of His Majesty’s Government is definite and stable. It has not changed with successive Governments ; in this respect it will not change with successive Viceroys, for my distinguished successor, Lord Irwin, prior to his departure stated that it would be his endeavour to forward whole-heartedly the advancement of India towards full self-government on constitutional lines. Nevertheless, looked at merely from the Indian point of view, the great significance of the Reforms is still at times misunderstood or underrated. Yet they give what India never had before—a guarantee by Parliament for her political progress. They open the door to the attainment of a new national status and dignity ; they give an opportunity not offered before to enter into more intimate relations with England and the Empire and enable India gradually to build up her own responsible institutions within the Commonwealth of nations forming the Empire. I lay

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

emphasis on all these considerations to-day, because as the result of my five years' intimate connection with India, I have learnt to place a greater value on the new Constitution than when I first set out from home. I am aware that it is said that the inspiration of the policy finds its origin in democratic institutions which are especially British in character and cannot be applied to India. But Indians will be the first to assert that these ideals during a long association with British rule have become ingrained in the minds of Indians as among the essentials of national progress. No useful purpose would be served by disguising from ourselves that there are inherent difficulties in adapting British democratic institutions to Indian conditions, but these must be confronted by India and her political leaders. The essential principle underlying English institutions is based on a fundamental unity of sentiment and on a general desire, in issues of cardinal importance, to waive the claims of individual or sectional advantage for the benefit of the common weal. India's internal conditions are not naturally conducive to solidarity. Peopled by different races with separate historical antecedents and conflicting ideals of culture India possesses various elements which do not tend towards unity. Sharp inequalities of development in education and civilization divide men; creeds and castes tend to separative influences. The administrative problems are not less complex; but I shall not pursue the enumerations of difficulties. My purpose in referring to them is to emphasise again that they cannot be relegated into the background; they cannot be disregarded, they force themselves in India at every turn to the forefront. Communal differences have become more acute as all India knows. I need not elaborate them. I mention them because they loom large in India and they are not merely superficial. They have their roots deeply entrenched and will not easily be extirpated. All thoughtful men in India realise the situation; it would be

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

idle to attempt to refer even cursorily to the political conditions of India without mention of it,—but there to-day I must leave this momentous problem in the hope that Indian patriotism and Indian intellect will help to find a solution.

Now, when my return to England is imminent, and I have given long and deep reflection to the position of India under the new Constitution, I have felt it incumbent upon me to state my views to you, to offer them in the friendliest spirit and with the purpose of securing your whole-hearted good-will and co-operation in the administration. I am not for one moment suggesting that the Constitution in its present form is perfect and that it will not require revision and amendment and adaptation to conditions in new developments. This will form the subject of a great and momentous inquiry at a later date. The necessary conditions to ensure its appointment earlier than the statutory date have been too frequently stated by me and my Government to need repetition. Even so my observations are constantly misunderstood notwithstanding that I have been at pains to correct misinterpretations. In particular I desire to emphasise that I have never required complete or abject surrender of any political party or section. I earnestly trust that my successor may be more fortunate than I in this respect and that he may find in the new régime that clear and unambiguous expression of good-will and desire for harmonious relations which I have sought to obtain.

Unfortunately the years immediately following the introduction of the Reforms could hardly have been more unfavourable to their growth. A ferment of unsettlement of feeling was at work in India as elsewhere in the world. Besides these developments India's finances were crippled : her trade and commerce were enveloped in a heavy cloud of economic stagna-

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tion ; a great section of the Indian people were also troubled regarding the fortunes of an Empire closely associated with their most precious religious sentiments and beliefs. These conditions caused the acutest anxiety to me and my Government, and throughout these early years, in addition to the heavy burden of developing the new Constitution, we were faced with the constant necessity of dealing with a succession of critical developments, which not only impeded the working of the Reforms, but menaced at one time their very existence. It is freely and fully acknowledged that there is a great change in the present atmosphere ; peace reigns on our borders ; internal disturbances have been set at rest ; law and order have been vindicated and established ; the financial situation has been stabilised with beneficent reactions on the nation-building activities of the Reformed Constitution ; conditions have been created which give fair prospect for trade and commerce in the development of India's resources ; the anxieties of the Indian Moslem population have been allayed. Looking back over these early years I again gladly acknowledge the support given by the Indian Legislature to the Government in many important steps taken in critical situations.

I have had one other purpose in mind in making this brief summary. Quite recently Lord Irwin in a generous reference to myself claimed that credit should be given to the Viceroy when the results of his administration were deemed satisfactory. I will add, that if credit is to be attributed to me in any degree for any of these results it should in fairness be very fully shared by those associated with me in the heavy burdens of the Government of India. No Viceroy can possibly have received more loyal and devoted service than I during these five years in which it has been my good fortune to have the great advantage of most skilled and capable assistance not only from the

Farewell Address to both Houses of the Legislature at Delhi.

Members of my Council but also from those who have otherwise been called upon to contribute to the administration.

And now let me abandon political discussion, and for a brief moment turn to personal considerations. Throughout my addreses to you to-day the sad reflection dominates my mind that it is the last of these occasions. I should not be human if I could remain unmoved in the face of my impending departure from India. The memories of these years will always be treasured by me; I cannot refer to them without associating Her Excellency in these expressions of profound regret at departure. For the moment all controversies are forgotten. I think only of the many acts of thoughtful kindness and sympathetic friendship throughout our stay in India. Inevitably my thoughts turn to the generous assistance Her Excellency and I have invariably received from India from Members of the Legislature and from all classes of the public in our labours in the cause of suffering humanity. Her Excellency with the true instinct of women and mother has made this her special avocation, and I know that she leaves grateful hearts behind her.

While I have been in India I have always striven to labour for her best interests. I have regarded myself as a link with her imperial connection charged with a mission to advance her greater destinies. I have kept an impartial mind, free from the trammels of parties or interests and fully pledged to the implications of her particular institutions. I may not have always succeeded, for human effort has its limitations; but believe me that to the best of my ability I have never fallen short in sympathy for India or desire to serve her. I take away most kindly recollections of her and she will always be in my thoughts. It is in this light that I would wish to dwell in your hearts—also as one who did his best to serve India.

ADDRESS FROM THE DEPUTATION OF THE TALUQDARS OF
OUDH.

6th March
1926.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the Address presented by a Deputation of the Taluqdars of Oudh at Delhi said :—

Gentlemen.—The Taluqdars of Oudh have been justly noted in the past for their loyalty and for the sincerity and strength of their friendships. Of the justice of this reputation I find the clearest expression in your kind thought in coming here to-day from Oudh and presenting me with this address on the eve of my departure from India. I greatly appreciate the cordial terms in which you have alluded to myself and my public work and your generous appreciation of Her Excellency's efforts on behalf of the women and children of India.

Distinct among the many pleasant recollections of India which I shall take away with me and treasure, is my visit to Lucknow where I first had the pleasure of meeting the Taluqdars as a body. I remember also a splendid entertainment where I enjoyed the famous hospitality of the Taluqdars ; and among you as hosts I as your guest renewed acquaintance with many members of your association and attended by the scions of your houses as my Body Guard I watched wonderful illuminations which bade fair to rival the splendours of the starry firmament.

A great position has been handed down to you. You stand high in the regard of Government and in the esteem of your country-men. You belong to the martial classes with their noble annals of courageous acts and fearless sacrifice. You have inherited fine traditions of loyalty and public service. Whatever changes may take place in India I am confident that if you remain faithful to those traditions, you have a great future before you. If you keep as your creed loyalty to the Government, support of law and order, determination to lead public opinion in the right lines, solicitude for high moral standards in public life and unselfish devotion to the welfare

* *Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*

of the people and the greater good of your country, every succeeding age, whatever may be the new conditions, will not fail to find leaders and prominent men among your ranks.

It will be my privilege to convey your message of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Let me thank you once more for your address and bid you farewell. Though, in a few weeks, time and space will sever me from Oudh, my thoughts will often turn to your body ; and I shall continue to watch with sympathy and interest the part the Taluqdars will play in public life, in full confidence that their contribution to the destinies of India will not be unworthy of their past history and great traditions.

1st April
1926.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy in replying to the Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at Bombay said :—

Gentlemen.—I am glad on the occasion of my approaching departure from India to have this opportunity of meeting once again the members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce ; and I am very grateful to your Chamber and to you, gentlemen, personally for your kind thought in presenting me with this farewell address and for your good wishes for me and Her Excellency.

You have been kind enough to enumerate, in very generous terms of appreciation, some of the events during my period of office which have had reactions on trade and commerce. Many years of my life before I assumed charge of my office in India had been passed in close touch with those associated in these pursuits in the metropolis of the Empire ; and I could

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

claim also to have had some first-hand acquaintance with other great centres of commerce and finance in other countries both in the old world and the new.

I came to India fresh from the momentous discussions on economic and financial reconstruction in Europe which were occupying the minds of all thinking men at home. The normal production and interchange of goods and raw material had in some countries practically come to a standstill. Markets were everywhere dull. Exchange was undergoing violent fluctuations. The currency systems of some countries had failed to withstand the shock, to which they had been subjected, and were falling down in value to vanishing point. The more pessimistic were inclined to predict that the world would not recover for a century from this economic dislocation. The more hopeful recognised that the greatest care, industry and forethought would be required to build up again the stability of pre-war conditions. With my mind attuned to these problems, I set myself on arrival in India to try to restore stability to the finances of the Government of the country by rigid economy and prudence, to rehabilitate the railway systems and to reconstruct those aspects of conditions connected with industry, trade and commerce in which the Government can properly lend a helping hand.

My Government in their efforts have had the assistance of favourable monsoon seasons ; they have also had, as I most gratefully acknowledge, the firm support of the commercial community in overcoming their difficulties. Though conditions in commercial circles in the earlier part of the period of my Viceroyalty were often depressing and sometimes almost desperate, there has been a complete absence of panic ; and the commercial community have put their trust in the sincerity of the efforts of Government to find a solution to the problems

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

confronting the country. They have assisted Government throughout to the best of their ability with reasonable criticism and advice. Their technical knowledge and experience have been freely put at our disposal ; and their own energy, initiative and courage have supplemented in a remarkable degree the measures adopted by Government for the amelioration of the situation.

Now we are in calmer waters ; and I think that both the Government and the commercial community can look back with satisfaction over the great distance, traversed in so short a time, and now separating us from the cyclone which once threatened to engulf the commercial and financial well-being of India.

My only regret is that the limitations of financial stringency and the vital necessity for reconstruction and rehabilitation have militated against any widespread and general progress with very important schemes of new construction and development. The former work was more vital and had to take precedence, as any prudent businessman will admit. With the more stable condition now secured, the era for these new schemes has, I hope, begun. I know that all well-considered new projects will have the warm support of the commercial community. In the Royal Commission on Agriculture I leave behind a new field of enquiry, in which I am proud to have helped to turn the first furrows and which, I am confident, has potentialities for a rich harvest of future prosperity.

Bombay still has some problems to solve, and watches for a change in the moons of commercial activity to bring better trade weather. I believe the new moon is now not far off ; and when the change begins, I am confident that the enterprise of Bombay will take the fullest advantage of opportunities.

Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. Though time and space may separate me in future from the important interests you represent here, I shall continue to watch with sympathy and confidence the future development of the great commercial mart and Empire port of Bombay.

ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

1st April
1926.

In reply to the Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association at Bombay, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen.—I am most grateful to the members of your various Associations for presenting me with this address on the occasion of my departure from Bombay. I am glad to receive your testimony regarding the satisfaction which the abolition of the cotton excise duties has given to the representatives of the important cotton textile industry. As I have already made clear in my speeches to the Legislatures and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and also in reply to a deputation from the interests which you, Gentlemen, represent, the Government of India was pledged to the abolition of these duties as soon as financial conditions permitted. That the abolition was somewhat long deferred was due to the crisis of the war and the financial stringency which obscured the outlook in the period of acute economic depression following upon it. By rigid economy and prudent measures, however, the financial position has now been stabilised ; and although at this time twelve months ago and in the first-half of last financial year the position was still too uncertain to make any definite commitment, later when the year had declared itself

Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

and there seemed a reasonable prospect of a surplus, which I am happy to say has been subsequently realised, I and my Government at once took steps to examine whether, what I knew to be your wishes and the wishes of the Central Legislature, could be put into effect without undue financial risk; and after careful consideration I suspended by the issue of an Ordinance the collection of the duties from the 1st of December last. The abolition of the duties has now been brought forward by my Government as a permanent measure and passed into law by the Legislature.

I am gratified that I was able to take this step during my period of office. It was in particular a source of satisfaction to me that I found myself in a position to give the relief at a time when it was specially needed. The suspension came into effect at a moment when the conditions of the industry were unusually perplexing and when labour disputes in Bombay had added to the difficulties. His Excellency the Governor kept me in close touch with the situation in Bombay, and I watched events with anxious sympathy. The disappearance of the duties will, I trust, help to solve some of the general problems confronting the mill-owners, while the prompt and generous action of the owners in Bombay in restoring the reduction in wages has already borne fruit in the termination of the labour disputes in Bombay.

You may be confident that the Government of India attach the greatest importance to the textile industry and have the fullest desire to encourage the enterprise which has so successfully started and carried on large spinning and weaving concerns in Bombay, Cawnpore and other centres and gives employment to a large number of operatives. India takes a just pride in the establishment of this great industry, and the Government of India are equally solicitous for its prosperity.

Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

Measures for improving prospects have been under discussion between the Associations connected with the management of the industry and the Government of India ; and you have received the views of the latter regarding certain concrete suggestions put forward by you. As far as Government is concerned, I repeat, there is every desire to assist the industry ; but Government must be satisfied that measures free from objection and generally appropriate are adopted. The eventual welfare of the industry is a purpose common to both the mill-owners and to Government ; and it is only in regard to the precise steps, which can most usefully be taken, that there is room for a difference of view. Sir Charles Innes, the Member of my Executive Council in charge of the Commerce Department, is now in Bombay ; and I trust you will take this opportunity of freely and frankly exchanging views with him. The fuller the discussion, the better will be the prospects of arriving at a solution.

Before I take leave of you let me express my appreciation of the public spirit which individual members of the Mill-owners' Associations have always displayed during my term of office. A number of them have served as Members on the Central and Provincial Legislatures where their experience of commerce, industry and finance has been of great assistance to the administration. Individual members have also been most generous in their donations to charities and public purposes ; and I gratefully acknowledge their unselfish activities in these directions both on behalf of local and all-India objects.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and kind wishes. Though I am shortly to sever my official concern with the interests you represent, I shall always keep in touch with the progress of the great industry in India which you direct and you have my warmest wishes for its future prosperity.

1st April
1926.

BYCULLA CLUB DINNER, BOMBAY.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Farewell Dinner given to him by the Members of the Byculla Club, Bombay :—

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, and Gentlemen,—
I thank you very warmly for the welcome you have given me, and you particularly, Mr. Chairman, for all you have been good enough to say. Especially do I appreciate your references to Her Excellency (applause); when I think of the anxieties of a few months ago, my mind turns immediately with sympathy to Sir Leslie Wilson, with earnest hope that his anxieties may be relieved as were mine and that Lady Wilson may soon be restored to health (applause).

You have invited me, Mr. Chairman, to disclose to you in confidence my views on the past, present and future of India. I have attended many farewell banquets and have had to make many speeches, but I particularly value this opportunity of addressing you tonight with the knowledge that there will be no report in cold print for me to examine in the morning (applause). I do not know whether it has often fallen to the lot of many of you here to make a speech and in the morning when the newspaper comes, to read it, to realise how much better it would have been if you had to make it over again, but to know with certainty that even then you would wish for another opportunity in order to retrieve the errors which assuredly will have been made (laughter).

Tonight I am about to die as Viceroy, I salute you. It is but natural that during many days my thoughts have reverted to the early period of my arrival, and when on board the ship as we approached Bombay I became more and more impressed with the arduousness of the task and with the heavy responsibilities I had undertaken. I have in mind travelled during the last few days with Lord Irwin, and I realise to the full what his thoughts must

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have been and are at this moment—the impressions that will crowd upon him, the many people, the strange vegetation, the hot sun, the colour in the streets and generally the totally different atmosphere. I have often tried to disentangle the impressions that crowded my brain during the early days of my arrival. They remain among the lumber of memory where everything is stored and nothing is lost ; nevertheless it is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to disengage the impressions from the superimposed mass. I have sought to re-call the various incidents ; throughout the conviction remained uppermost that I had come at a very difficult moment. Please remember that in any retrospective path into which I may ask you to wander with me, I am not seeking self-glorification. I know too well some of my own imperfections, although I am sure that there are many that escape me. In those early days none will deny that times were very very troubled. I shall not weary you with a narrative of all the events of the 12 or 18 months after my arrival, they were days of grave anxiety. You in your daily avocations must have been aware how critical were the conditions. Whatever the precise and varied causes, it is sufficient to remember that a great wave of unrest had swept over the world as the result of the War. The din and the clash and the bloodiness of battles were still in the minds of men. Then came the Peace, almost more difficult than the War. There were troubles specially attributable to the situation in India ; the shadow of Amritsar was over the land and, in addition, the Muhammadan ferment caused by the Treaty with Turkey. But this is now ancient history and I shall not attempt to analyse more thoroughly the causes of the troubles in India. What I have already said is in itself sufficient explanation. Added to these disturbing factors I had come as Viceroy to a country of which I knew little or nothing. It does not require much effort of imagination to realise that two or three months spent on a sailing vessel waiting for a

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cargo of jute in Calcutta, in the not perhaps very glorious rôle of ship's boy (cheers) on a cargo ships, did not afford many opportunities of meeting the elite either in Calcutta or elsewhere in India (applause). By some strange oversight the Viceroy of that period forgot to call on me ! (laughter). That constituted my personal experience of India. I had all to learn when I arrived and now after five very crowded years I have acquired a little knowledge, but fully recognise that there is much more of India and of her people that remains mysterious and unfathomed. I will admit to you that during these first periods there were moments when I was filled with grave anxiety. For many months, I never went to bed at night and never rose in the morning without reflecting that there were 320 million people in India and that of this huge population less than two hundred thousand were Europeans. These figures quite baffle human imagination. I do not envy the man charged with the burden of Government of India if he should have to undergo a similar experience (applause).

That time was anxious for another reason. Many who knew India far better than I were in favour of immediate definite drastic steps. There was good reason for such a course ; nevertheless I thought I saw clearly, and unmistakably the need for patience and that by the march of time the movement then agitating the country was doomed to destruction by its own inherent weakness. It was necessary to wait quietly until the right hour arrived and then to take action (applause). I admit there were moments when doubts crept in, yet the inevitability and almost the imminence of the crash seemed to me plain. I realised as very rarely in my life what a great French philosopher once said that there are certain things that stand so clearly marked that no argument is required, it is superfluous and in a sense might even tend to weaken conviction. I pass over subsequent events. I am not attributing all the later developments to my own

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judgment. I realise that good fortune has accompanied me in my progress in India. With these observations I shall leave the subject asking you to believe that I was throughout very conscious of all the difficulties and dangers, indeed, no one could occupy my position receiving information and advice from many sources, and remain ignorant of the gravity of the situation. But all that is past ; it is ancient history ; events have moved in our favour as they have moved forward. It may be confidently asserted that authority has been restored. One of the phenomena that met me on arrival and really shocked me was the serious weakening of all authority of Government. There were many reasons for it. I am not speaking in criticism, and least of all of my predecessor, for he had indeed many problems and perplexities to solve. I merely chronicle the fact that indiscipline and challenge and defiance confronted me at every turn. I rejoice that at this moment—as you, Sir, have truly said—we can at least congratulate ourselves upon the restoration of law and order, upon security at home and, I trust, also abroad (applause). The basis of all government is security, not only against aggression from abroad but also against internal commotions and convulsions. Without it there is no confidence ; without confidence there is no prosperity ; there can be no forward march in business, in the banking world, in the shipping world, and generally in all the worlds of commerce, and industry and finance, unless confidence is established and the people generally realise that they need no longer fear the destructive eruption of a volcano (applause).

The Viceroy has many functions to perform. He has a dual position. He is both Viceroy and Governor-General. As Viceroy, as the direct representative of His Majesty he is called upon to exercise the King's prerogative, to stand at the head of affairs, to observe ceremonial and also to attend to social duties. As Governor-General he is responsi-

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ble for the Administration. With the Members of his Council he constitutes the body known as the Governor-General in Council, perhaps the most abused body I have ever known (laughter). But the duties of both Viceroy and Governor-General are discharged by one man, and I cannot tell you how often as Viceroy I have longed—speaking in strict confidence—to take off my silken gloves and to enter the lists to defend my action and that of my Council instead of being compelled to sit in a high chair, on a throne, on a pinnacle, to receive reports of Proceedings in the Legislature and to read that this or that Minister has been attacked and had defended himself well and routed his assailants (applause). But the Viceroy must remember that he should never allow the atmosphere of party political conflict to envelop him. I wish sometimes that those who criticise and often attack the Viceroy vehemently would remember that he cannot make reply to these personal observations.

You may have wondered whether I mean to relate matters confidential to you tonight, let me confess that I am tempted ; some would argue that temptations of this character are brought into existence in order that to a certain extent we should succumb to them (applause). Nevertheless, I must remember that the confidencess are those of Government. Yet if I don't reveal secrets I may respond to the invitation that you, Mr. Chairman, have set before me. Whilst I am struck by some observations you made I shall not travel over them in detail. This is not the occasion. I rejoice that you have realised the steady advance in finance, in Railways and generally in industry and economies although you at Bombay may not at the present moment be feeling the full effect (laughter and applause). Let me freely acknowledge that I have had the good fortune of assistance from the most loyal and devoted comrades, who never found work too heavy, who never minded at what time of day or night I called for information, who laboured persistently and sometimes at

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risk to health, in order to serve the King-Emperor and the Empire (applause).

I might be tempted to speak on foreign affairs which are in the charge of the Viceroy, but I shall content myself and you with the observation that there is at present no dark storm cloud visible. I was quite recently on the N.-W. Frontier and was again immensely impressed. The men live remarkable lives differing greatly from those who inhabit the plains of India. If you have never visited the frontier you may not know that almost every house stands in its compound with a tower, and you may imagine in your innocence that the tower is perhaps some kind of minaret for the Muslim call to prayer. But upon inquiry you learn that it is the lookout place from which one man in his compound watches the other in the next compound with whom he has a blood feud and if one rears his head above the protection a rifle bullet may go through it immediately. Along the road in the Khyber I saw some houses of this character close to the road and noticed a kind of tunnel. I sought information and was told that it was a tunnel leading to another compound a little further off where part of the family live. I asked "why a tunnel ?" The reply was : "Oh ! because the road is sanctuary in this part to within 50 yards either side and as the other compound was 55 yards from the road a tunnel had to be built in order that the members of the family could travel underground. I might be tempted to tell you more but I am anxious to answer one question that you put to me.

You asked whether I thought this was a country fit for Europeans in the future. My answer is yes ! a thousand times yes ! and always yes ! (applause). Europeans have a duty to perform, they have a responsibility to bear and it will be a lamentable day when the European holds, because of difficulties he may meet, that

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he should go home or that he should not come here (applause). Reflect upon all that has been achieved during the last 160 or 170 years when conditions were far from peaceful when they were much more difficult, and when men's lives were daily at stake ; then compare with present situation. Yet our people ventured ; they made the British Empire in India ; they maintained the British Empire in India, and Heaven forbid that we of this generation should do ought to diminish its power or prestige in India and the East (applause). I am not unmindful of the thoughts in your minds. You are thinking probably of racial animosities which may prevail, of a future when India will have a larger part in the Government of the country and when, as you may think, although the life of a European may be safe his property may be imperilled or the opportunities of earning a living in India may be driven away. It is a fair question which I never hesitate to answer. I have never doubted that there will be room for Europeans here, there may and doubtless will be changes although in course of time ; indeed, we must remember that in a Proclamation of the King-Emperor a solemn assurance was given, that there should be, in certain conditions, as time progresses a responsible Government in India within the Empire. I regard that as solemn and sacred statement, an assurance from the King-Emperor which we must support. Whatever the future may show I hope Europeans in this country will continue their efforts to establish the Reforms ; they should seek to advance India, to show her the true path, to enable her to understand the practical principles of self-government, that she may ultimately attain her ambition if only she shows goodwill, that she may rejoice wholeheartedly in her partnership in the British Empire (applause). I know that the road is difficult. I am conscious of the many mountains to ascend before the summit is reached. We must not travel too fast.

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We cannot give to the East what we have evolved through centuries in the West without allowing sufficient time. We should do everything possible to improve the conditions of Indians. It may be urged that in the past we have paid too scant attention to the condition of the Indian—the poorer Indians generally. I shall not stay to explain the difficulties administrators have met in the past ; conditions were very different and yet much was accomplished. But conceptions of empire have largely advanced. We should go forward striving to advance the interests of India as a component part of the empire, to ameliorate the lot of the poor and of him who should never be forgotten, the poorest among the poor. Government have recently ordered an enquiry which may, and I earnestly hope will, improve the conditions of some 85 per cent. of the people. A Royal Commission has been appointed, and I rejoice that His Excellency Lord Irwin who will be responsible for action upon the Report was the representative of Agriculture in the Cabinet until his appointment as Viceroy. Various other roads of progress will suggest themselves to the mind, but I cannot discuss them tonight. Among the obligations devolving upon Government is primarily that of preserving order. Before we hand over this highly important duty to the local legislatures we must be reasonably certain that it will be in safe keeping and will not become the sport of political parties. If India refuses, if India declines to accept the constitution we have presented to her, the responsibility will not be ours. It will be lamentable, because we shall have failed in the task we had set ourselves, that is, to guide Indians to democratic constitutional Government as we understand in the West. It has already been made plain that we are not wedded to words or to forms ; you will remember that Lord Birkenhead in his speech invited Indians to put forward an alternative constitution devised on India lines if they wished it. My observation of Indian polities

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during these five years leads to the conclusion that the differences between us and Indian leaders are mainly that they want full powers immediately whereas we think more time is needed (applause).

Gentlemen, when I think of approaching departure my heart is full of gratitude for the opportunities vouchsafed to me of contributing to the wonderful work of the British in India (applause). I rejoice that it fell to my lot to come here, and although I recognise very fully that in time to come, if not now, my actions may be criticised, perhaps many errors may be discovered, yet I trust it will be acknowledged that I strove to the utmost of my ability to discharge the responsibilities of my high office. As we approached Bombay on first arrival the political sky seemed heavy and overcast and stormy. I gazed at it and pondered how shall I discover the light, and then I discerned a ray of sunshine which came through the clouds to me, illumining the whole political firmament. It burnt into my mind in letters of gold:—"go forward, fearlessly, faithfully and honestly according to the best of your ability and to the true dictates of your conscience." I have tried never to forget the precept of that ray (applause).

I cannot leave you tonight without giving expression to a thought that accompanies me whenever I reflect upon my departure. You have guessed it before I give it utterance. Throughout I have had the invaluable solace and comfort of my wife (applause), in the truest sense of the word the best comrade a man could ever find (applause). She and I will leave a large part of our hearts still in India. We have become deeply attached to her, and when we are home we shall recollect the days when we were in India together, we shall recall the trials and vicissitudes but we shall dwell upon the more pleasurable aspects and these are many. I shall again reflect upon my good fortune

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in having had most loyal and devoted comrades throughout the whole of my Viceroyalty. In the end as I leave India, as I wend my way home, I return with a deeper realisation of the beneficent outlook of the British Empire, with a wider understanding of its duties and responsibilities, with a larger conception of the influence and power of that great commonwealth of nations. I glory in the high purpose it is our duty as citizens of the Empire to seek to achieve; in the moral standpoint of public service we strive to inculcate, in the endeavour to improve the conditions of the poorer and less fortunate people, in the earnest wish that this country may be the better for our efforts, that we may have contributed to the cause of humanity, and that we may have assisted in promoting the welfare and happiness of India. (Prolonged applause).

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